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(SYMPOSIUM)

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By J. B. BARTLETT

THE FUTILITIES
OF REFORMERS
By
JOSEPH DANA MILLER

THE OFFICE OF
THE PREACHER
By STANTON K. DAVIS

NOVEMBER, 1901

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*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

THE ARENA

VOL. XXVI.

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No. 5.

THE GOSPEL OF DESTRUCTION.

I. ITS EVOLUTIONARY ASPECTS.

THE doctrine of Nihilism has been called the incomprehensible creed; yet a diagnosis of its causes is more and more evidently becoming a condition of its cure.

The epidemic of revolt against social order can no longer be mistaken for a self-limited evil. Its vitality defies droughts and frosts and can be checked only by the discovery of its root. No other delusion has so persistently defied that most potent of all arguments: the logic of experience. There must be unsuspected facts at the bottom of its theories; there must be elements of strength nourished by another soil than our own.

The historic exegesis of the strange aberration enables us, indeed, to trace it to an altogether exceptional combination of circumstances. Its doctrines were first clearly enounced during the fifth decade of the nineteenth century, and it has been pointed out that about that time the seed of religious skepticism began to leaven the masses of the working population in several countries of Continental Europe.

Opposition to the religious policy of established governments has, however, more than once proved compatible with the political loyalty of the dissenters. For the sake of military triumphs the Jacobins forgave the Concordat of the First

Empire. For the sake of the long-desired reestablishment of national prestige the German Catholics forgave the anti-Papal procedures of Prince Bismarck. Paternalism, like that of the Austrian dynasty in some of its Crownlands, has contrived to weather the shock of military reverses and military despotism. There are, in fact, exceptions to the rule that organized government becomes a curse when it suppresses too large a share of the liberty which it should limit only by regulation. Among the bigoted country-population of Turkey and Spain the burden of despotism is felt only like the weight of defensive armor—a grievous but welcome protection from worse evils.

But in other parts of Europe an extraordinary, and perhaps unprecedented, conjuncture of grievances has eliminated the factors of conciliation. The burden of despotism galls like the chain that hampers the movements of the galley-slave, and its weight is felt as an unqualified affliction. In Italy and Russian Poland millions are oppressed and exasperated by taxes in support of an unpopular government, by toils in the service of a detested army, and by tithes in subvention of what to them has become an incredible creed.

They feel that return to the freedom of Nature would be an unspeakable gain; they would gladly exchange their lot for that of the savage who obeys no law but that of his instincts and dreads no foes but the hostile powers of Nature.

They mourn the total loss of their birthright to happiness; to them the "social contract" has proved a cruelly one-sided arrangement, imposing a maximum of toil for a minimum share of the harvest. Not all of them underrate the horrors of a throne and altar subverting revolution, but they feel certain that, in comparison with their present condition, chaos itself would be a change for the better.

They can see no redeeming feature in the form of social order enforced upon them, and would take the risk of effecting relief by its total destruction. Organized government, to them, has become a synonym of organized injustice—a combination of cruelty, selfishness, arrogance, and imposture.

Why preserve it, they ask; why starve and toil to assist its preservation?

From that point of view it seems possible enough that the apostles of annihilation can be wholly in earnest. Free-thought has rid their doctrine of its last handicap. They have long ceased to doubt the justice of their cause. Their problem has become reduced to one of ways and means.

It is less plausible, but still comprehensible, how their aversion to special forms of government could extend itself to all organized government whatever. Even thus skepticism has evolved agnosticism, and pessimism the doctrine of total renunciation. Besides, it must not be supposed that their leaders have rushed headlong to their present conclusions. Their precursors have tried this remedy and that—their government itself has initiated promising reforms; but experience has proved that, in spite of such recipes, every year brings an increase of burdens and a decrease of privileges. Total abolition of State and Church has thus become the keystone of their faith in the possibility of amelioration.

There are precedents also for the strange fact that the most tolerant American republics have to expiate the sins of Old-World feudalists. The Society of Thugs originated in Raypootana, at the foot of the Himalayas, where the creed of their ancestors was persecuted by Brahman and Mussulman bigots. Failing to obtain legal redress of their grievances, they organized bands of secret avengers, which finally migrated to southern India to vent their wrath upon Parsee merchants and European travelers.

The total-depravity charge against the exponents of anarchism has the advantage of theoretical simplicity, but, for purposes of practical reform, has thus far failed. We cannot hope to redeem fanatics till we admit their sincerity, their complete and reflection-fortified conviction—the fact, indeed, that from their own point of view they may be right; and that their motive, as Carlyle defines that of the French Revolution, may be something more than unalloyed diabolism: "Celestial in one part, though in the other infernal—this

breaking out into absolute anarchy, into the faith and practise of no-government. Their unappeasable revolt against sham-governors and sham-teachers I charitably define to be a search, most unconscious, yet in deadly earnest, for true Governors and Teachers."

But, with all these admissions, the fearful perils of the Gospel of Destruction cannot be denied, and the main remedy should be sought in the plan of clearly exposing the two chief fallacies of its application. The most glaring of these is based upon the hope of transferring the privileges of primitive barbarism to a highly complex state of social conditions; for that complexity itself could be remedied only by another deluge. The habitable regions of our planet are crowded with beings of our species that can no longer hope to enjoy the luxury of self-dependence.

A less absurd but still untenable doctrine of our political annihilators has been inspired by the dread that the combinations of misery experienced by their East European kinsmen tend to reproduce themselves in the New World. Ages had to pass and manifold abnormal causes had to coöperate to produce that peculiar conjunction of grievances, and ages will pass before they can recombine. The mists of the Middle Ages still linger in our atmosphere, but the current of tendencies is setting in a direction opposed to religious intolerance. Imperialism may resume its pomp, or even its name, but it can never hope to recover its prerogatives. The "resistless power of combination" will benefit voters as well as capitalists.

Voluntary modifications of anarchism, indeed, seem to indicate that some of its leaders can be reasoned out of their infatuations. They came wrapped up in tenacious prejudices, prepared to resist any storm, but they are beginning to yield to the influence of sunlight. Their search for a harbor of refuge is unmistakably sincere, and they may consent to be saved when they can no longer mistake a life-boat for a slave-ship.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

Springfield, Mass.

II. THE CURE FOR ANARCHY.

THE ragged little urchin who, even while wearing a black band on his arm in token of his respect for McKinley, is strolling across the grass in defiance of the park law epitomizes the world situation. Man has reached the plane of development wherein the ideal of law appeals to him most strongly, and yet many of his daily acts—his habits of life—are lawless.

The average citizen to-day is shocked by an overt attack on the life of an individual, especially when the victim represents the government; yet the vast majority of men at this moment are actively engaged in perpetuating a system which attacks the life of every man, woman, and child. This lack of correspondence between the thing we worship and the thing we do will continue until it is no longer true that we have "a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge."

What the world needs to-day, and needs most sorely, is, not more laws in restraint of violence, but more *light*. It is by knowledge—that deep soul knowledge which is wisdom—that the many shall be made just.

Through all the weary centuries men have been struggling in their governmental experimenting to realize that law which is God; but the world-wide dissatisfaction and unrest, the increasing evidences of strife, doubt, and fear, proclaim the failure of outward governments to order and harmonize life. Indeed, anarchy reigns much more generally in this world of affairs than we would like to think. But, whether we like it or not, we are rapidly losing faith in man's bungling attempts at governing the world; and many men openly declare that the law which holds men in subjection to-day can never protect us from anarchy, but rather intensifies that very condition.

But to take this position, you say, is to array one's self against the government, which in these sensitive times is regarded as treason. To attack one who represents the government, or to attack all the men who constitute it, is most assur-

edly treason; for it denies the first principle of life—that of freedom. But it is for this very reason that men and women are coming to appreciate the fact that the present industrial government of the world, attacking as it does the life, liberty, and happiness of each individual in it, is really the great Anarch of all time.

This question of anarchy, which has recently been brought to our notice in so shocking a way, is after all the great problem of the day. It calls in no uncertain voice for solution; and until we as citizens—not alone of the United States, but of the world—give ourselves earnestly and calmly to the thorough comprehension of it, the world cannot go forward to its destiny of social power and beauty, but will travel deeper and deeper into that darkness of anarchy and strife wherein “the worm dieth not, nor the fire is not quenched.”

Society—a beneficent and peaceful association of individuals—can never be realized on earth until we understand the cause and cure of anarchy. Neither hysterical denunciation, class legislation, nor scholastic indifference will protect us from the danger which threatens all lands to-day. Anarchy is here to stay until it is overcome by the outward expression of that law of love which Civilization has sought for—and denied.

So long as personal profit is the incentive to activity, so long as self-seeking in the realm of things is the prevailing ideal, just so long will strife and suffering, anarchy and atheism increase. If we should raise a Chinese wall of legislation heaven high it would not avail to keep violence and lawlessness out of our country. They are as truly indigenous to America as to the Old World: they are in the heart of every man who is seeking first of all to protect himself in *things*. This condition is not a new nor a sudden growth: it is as old as Civilization itself.

Has not the time come when we can look frankly at this whole problem of Civilization, with its various attempts at government,—military, ecclesiastical, political, economic,—its periodic revolutions, its heart-burnings and feverish hopes, its fears, its failures, and, so looking, learn the lesson of life? Ruskin has said: “Government and coöperation are . . . the

laws of life. Anarchy and competition, eternally and in all things, the laws of death;" but that statement will only add to our confusion unless we are willing to probe to the very heart of the question of government.

To confound our outward machinery of law with the laws of the Universe is to render any intelligent thought on the subject of anarchy impossible. To consider this crude achievement of government, which self-seeking man has wrought out, with the governing and sustaining power of the world, is to confess our own materialism and ignorance. Yet this is not to say that we could mend matters by attacking our present government, nor does it imply that Civilization is altogether a failure. A great good has undoubtedly resulted from it, but it is not that outward government on which we rely so blindly. When we once understand the birth and growth of the institution called Civilization, we will cease to cling to the outward forms and give ourselves heartily to the realization of that great State which Civilization has but crudely symbolized.

Since the dawn of time man has dimly felt his destiny of power, and has constantly sought to realize it. That he first sought it amiss in the outer world need not surprise us, when we realize that all children must grow into a true self-consciousness through the experience and knowledge of things about them. The not-self is, after all, the guide to the self; and probably in no other way could men have come to a true self-realization than by experimenting in the realm of material things. It may yet appear that the way to that social and all-inclusive State—that harmonious integration which men call Heaven—leads straight through the darkness of materialistic self-keeping; and that the Son of Man, in the broadest possible sense, had of necessity to "descend into hell."

Civilization, as distinguished from the communistic system of Barbarism, is the result of man's effort to differentiate himself from the mass. It was an absolutely necessary attempt; for, although the system of Barbarism had been a great advance on the savagery which preceded it, it had come at last to threaten all life and progress. The mass-man was all—the

individual nothing; and, until the individual is freed from all that crushes and enslaves him, "society" will remain an unrealized dream.

Man's effort then was good, but was his method a wise one? How did he seek to realize his individuality? Simply by asserting himself in the material realm. He rebelled against the common tribal law and plundered the common wealth. By means of personal ascendancy the primitive law of Barbarism, expressive of communal will, was captured by individuals and thereafter administered by personal will for private profit. The savage maxim of "catch who catch can" came once more into favor, and from that hour men associated with one another, not, as formerly, for the tribal good, but for personal benefit. In the name of progress and under cover of law men attacked the primitive government of Barbarism; they utterly destroyed the small amount of public peace and safety which had been secured through the tribal life, and they firmly established the standard of individual might as against common rights. In a word, the first civilizees were the first anarchists of history. This whole system of individualism, based as it is on private property and supported by class or private law, is anarchy pure and simple.

The late Mr. Fiske has said that "the prime feature of the process called Civilization is the diminution of warfare." But as we fearlessly study its inception and development we are forced to the conclusion that it is the very incarnation of the *genius of war*. Men have ceaselessly fought their brothers in their effort to realize their destiny of power; and they will continue to do so until they discover that power does not inhere in *things*.

Power, peace, and plenty we must have: we can no more escape the divine impulsion toward those ideals than we can stop the machinery of the Universe. But how attain the goal? That is the question which Civilization has failed to answer. To become powerful through taking unto one's self the common wealth—to grow great by the attachment of outward and foreign power: such has been man's effort through all the long

tragedy called Civilization; and to this end government has been administered by the few as against the many, the two classes opposing each other continually.

There is something in man that resents and finally must always resist outward control; and so, in spite of the skilful tactics of the governing class, the mass of men have steadily fought for the right to govern themselves. The ideal of self-government has strengthened with the years, and men quite generally have accepted the theory of equality; but as a matter of fact the great problem which Civilization set out to solve—the problem of individuality—still awaits an answer. Indeed, has not Civilization in its final development (that of the government of the peoples through economic law) denied the very right which the first civilizees set out to attain—the right to govern one's self?

As in the case of Rome, so in our present civilization, competition and anarchy are proving themselves to be the law of death. Rome did not die, as school histories would lead us to believe, at the hands of the northern invaders, but because the life and strength of her people were sapped by the ceaseless working of her economic law; and if our present system of individual ownership of common wealth should continue our Anglo-Saxon civilization will be added to the long list of national failures.

Nations will continue to rise and fall, revolution will succeed revolution, anarchy will increasingly be manifested through both individual and class attacks on life, just so long as our activities continue to revolve around the materialistic concept of power through *property*. The only possible cure for anarchy is the redemption of the self-seeking activities from the realm of matter. Self-seeking is a divine, an ineradicable instinct, and it will yet lead the race into its longed-for haven of power and plenty; it will at last harmonize all interests and socialize all life. But this will not be until men seek the *self within*.

The individual can never extricate himself from the mass through the acquirement of material property. The method of

Civilization with all its governmental devices is futile; and the people suspect the fact. More than ever before in the world's history, men are beginning to see that the way of escape from strife and slavery leads to the inner realm of being. Individuality can be achieved only as we lay hold of and reveal the real properties of the soul. Only by the apprehension of the governing law of the Universe—that law of love which speaks from within—can anarchy be overcome and true order be established.

A thoroughly new mentality, as the result of absolutely free thought and free speech, must be evolved; and it will of necessity threaten the established institutions, but it will endanger no life: it will rather uplift and enrich all. The passion for possession must give way to the sincere desire for self-expression. Then will a true Commonwealth be revealed through the free contribution of the inner wealth of full-grown and unique individuals.

Self-government, self-knowledge, and self-expression will yet prove the only antidote for anarchy, and a true Individualism the only basis for genuine Socialism.

EVELYN HARVEY ROBERTS.

New York.

THE FAILURE OF FREEDOM.

THE eighteenth century produced two sons of greatness, strikingly similar in their primal characteristics and in the unusual opportunities afforded for their exercise in the service of the State: in the Old World the elder Napoleon; in the New World George Washington. Both were brave men; both were true men; both loved their country and dared to expose their lives for their country's cause.

Napoleon was probably the equal of Washington in intellect and his superior in education. Both of them were successful in serving the State. To both there came a time that tried their souls, revealing the weakness of the one and the strength of the other. Napoleon saw the thrones of Europe tottering—their scepters in the hands of the timid and weak. Ambition prompted him to seize them and distribute them among his family and friends. For a time he was the autocrat of the world; but the inevitable change came, and he died a prisoner on rocky St. Helena.

Washington, too, was victorious in war. An unpaid soldiery clamored against the government; ambitious friends offered him the Dictator's sword, but his monitor, conscience, stood by him and told him of the greatness of a free people. He himself had crossed the Alleghanies, had been a surveyor in the mountains, and had looked out far on the western vales. It is said that Henry Clay, crossing the summits of the Alleghany Mountains, once descended from the stage and stood with his cloak wrapped around him as if in the attitude of listening. Some friends asked him, "Mr. Clay, for what are you listening?" and he replied, "I am listening for the footsteps of the coming millions." So, down the long opening vista of national life, Washington saw the coming millions, and the radiant glory of a free nation flashed its light into his great soul. He spurned the tempter and the temptation, put his sword in its scabbard, and went to be a peaceful farmer on the banks of the Potomac. How great the difference between Napoleon, whose ambition sought to make men vassals,

and Washington, whose ambition sought to make men free! Washington realized his ideal. An aristocrat by birth, he laid broad and deep the foundations of the world's truest democracy. Of the greatness of his service and the correctness of his ideals, there can be no question. Would that we might as truthfully say that there can be no question of our adherence to the moral and political standards that he enunciated and illustrated.

Not as an alarmist, but as a loyal American, believing that evil must be recognized and appreciated in order to be the most quickly and effectually eradicated, I ask: At the close of a century and a quarter of national life, do we realize or even approximate the Democratic Republic of George Washington? Have we not shifted the building of our national life from the solid rock of Washingtonian principle to the shifting sands of Napoleonic policy? Principle makes free. Policy enslaves. To-day policy sits king upon the throne of American activity, while moral principle cowers in chains at its feet for financial prosperity's sake.

If we are free only theoretically, in the mere sense of an empty governmental democracy, rather than sons of liberty in thought, in speech, in action, and in the moral qualities that alone make them effective, then this age will constitute an epoch upon the page of the future historian of America known by the significant name of "The Failure of Freedom."

Democracy is heaven-born. It was incarnated in Jesus Christ, the first true "social democrat." Its key-word is freedom, and its concrete expression in all phases of life is absolutely untrammelled action. This free life only is moral life. The bound life may run true, but its perforce is machine action and unmoral. The free life that runs untrue is immoral. The free life that plumb-lines with the straightness of God alone is moral. Rule by the aggregate trueness of that moral life, expressed in the honest majority of thought and action, is Democracy. There is no other.

Do we realize it? Study with me the existing conditions and answer to your own conscience. I do not ask, nor would

I have you answer to mine. That would be oligarchic; for the confessional, with its strait-jacket ipse-dixit,—personal, political, imperial, or ecclesiastical,—is foreign to the ideals of democracy. Wherever you find it, there exists "The Failure of Freedom."

Every sphere of life in this American democracy stands as warder at its gates, a Torquemada of inquisitorial repression. No *auto da fe* sizzles the physical organism; but how intellect dwarfs, and conscience cracks, and backbone bends, and principle breaks, as the iron mold grips and twists and crushes into machine shape and turns its product out, ready for sale, branded with the trade-mark of slavery!

This creature of demonry stands at the ecclesiastical gate. We call him Creed. He is cast-iron and never bends. About once in a century some consecrated democratic iconoclast, "a man sent from God, whose name is Progress," travails in the womb of truth, grows strong upon the "wild honey and locust" food of freedom, and with the courage of faith strikes the head from off the idol—and, lo! it is empty. The next century canonizes the man their grandfathers cannonaded, and then proceeds to cannonade his successor, whom their grandsons will canonize when the next century comes in. All the saints of the ages were heretics once, and the evolution of free thought in their lives wrought a revolution in the world and rested truth's triumphal arch upon the fire-blazed stakes of martyrdom. After all, what is orthodoxy and what is heterodoxy? To the Jews Jesus was heterodox. To the Papacy, Luther and St. George Mivart were heterodox. To Episcopalianism, John Wesley was heterodox. To Presbyterianism, Briggs and McGiffert are heterodox. To Methodism, Foster, Bowne, and Beet are almost heterodox. Better a free heretic than the bond-slave of orthodoxy. "If that be treason, make the most of it."

This creature of demonry stands at the educational gate. What is education? "Readin', Ritin', and Rithmetic," answered the fathers, for want of better knowledge. "Readin', Ritin', and Rithmetic," answers to-day the university that rears

its walls upon foundations of robbery. The true education creates not a parrot, but a thinker. It makes a man, not a cog on the machine wheel of slavery. The education of independence is the ideal of all true instruction, from the kindergarten to the most advanced university. Every educational institution built or endowed by the proceeds of monopolistic robbery hinders rather than helps true knowledge, for the spirit of freedom cannot breathe in commercial and industrial slaughter-houses. No money that means the sale of intellectual mastery can be other than a curse to the institution that dips its hands in the blood of humanity in order to get it. A Republican manufacturer's tariff blood-money (here let me digress to say that the whole tariff system is immoral and unjust, especially in a democracy) crucified an Andrews at Brown. A Standard Oil monopolist's legalized theft-proceeds crucified a Bemis at Chicago and a Commons at Syracuse. A board of trustees' unholy greed for the results of trust robbery crucified a Herron at Iowa, and every year the "machine," for politics' principal's sake, beheads the incumbents of chairs in our State universities because they dare to be men, think clear, and talk straight.

This creature of demonry stands at the industrial gate. From every passer in he exacts toll, leaving the laborer too little to satisfy but too much to starve. He forms trusts, concentrates and regulates production, shuts down factories, increases hours and decreases wages, that the percentage of earnings may "boom" the stock market in metropolitan hells; sells out at the top notch; buys a yacht, a palace in London, a mansion in New York, a summer house at Newport, an estate in Scotland, and lives on the "unearned increment" of land and labor, surpassing in criminal prodigality the barbarian ancients, for "I say unto you that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these." His laborers? Oh, they are still notches on the factory cog-wheel of his successors on the throne of oppression.

Or the same end is achieved by securing control of natural monopolies in city, State, and nation, and levying exorbitant

rates upon the populace whose imbecility gives them the privilege. By what natural or moral right do water, gas, and electric plants, steam, cable, or electric railways, yield a profit to private enterprise? None can be established, and the inherent injustice of such ownership and operation at the expense of the public explains the natural suspicion attaching to legislators, who are conspicuously favorable to these usurpers of the people's common inheritance. Another "failure of freedom," the result of which is that ninety-nine per cent. of the wealth of this country is in the hands of eight per cent. of its inhabitants, leaving the remaining ninety-two per cent. of its people only one per cent. as their share. Nearly one-half of the families of the United States are without any property whatever. No such disproportionate distribution of a nation's wealth could be possible in a true democracy. We are an oligarchy of wealth founded on trusts and natural monopolies. In the wake of that condition follows either socialism or anarchy.

"The French Revolution was the logical sequence of concentration into the hands of Church and nobles of the greater part of the lands and wealth of France. I do not say that such a condition is near at hand in our country, but I firmly believe the pendulum is swinging in that direction." The citizen can do his commonwealth no better service than by demonstrating the existence of unlawful pools and trusts in the State or by bringing the guilty parties to justice. He should and he must, to the best of his ability, faithfully and patriotically go after the trusts and combinations organized against the laws of the State and country and clean out the viperous brood of political demagogues who are largely responsible for them.

This creature of demonry stands at the political gate. *The government of the Constitution has practically ceased to exist.* In its place has grown up something that admits of no classification among systems of government, ancient or modern. Republican in form, as nominally representative, it is yet not a republic; for its representatives, though chosen by the people, are not the people's choice. Democratic in methods, as seem-

ingly resting on universal suffrage, it is yet not a democracy; for the periodic appeal to the popular vote is an empty ceremony. Though the government of a class, it is not an aristocracy, for it is largely composed of elements least of all deserving respect; and, though the government of a few, it is not an oligarchy *de jure*, though it is such *de facto*—for it exists by no recognized right, and its existence is not even confessed.

The imperfection of language has necessitated the invention of a new form of words to describe it, and this has been supplied by those most familiar with its workings, in the felicitous expression, "machine government." No phrase could have been better chosen. In accordance with this ideal, we send men to the United States Senate, primarily to represent the railroad systems, the Standard Oil Trust, the Sugar Trust, etc., and incidentally, where it will not conflict with their own ends, to look after the interests of the nation. In accord with this ideal, we send men to the Legislature because they are part of the machine whose crank is kept well oiled and turns at the command of the "boss."

Why this "failure of freedom"? Simply because we do not think. We are Democrats and Republicans because our fathers were. The machine nominates the ticket, and we vote it straight. And usually the "straight ticket" is tremendously crooked.

This spirit of blind partizanism and party bigotry is responsible for the fact that government to-day is the product of machine slavery, rather than of free manhood.

This creature of demonry stands a very Nemesis at the gateway of national expansion. Mark the steps: (1) War for humanity. (2) Benevolent assimilation. (3) Forcible conquest. (4) An imperial colonial policy, made possible by perverting the plain truths of the Constitution in order to escape the consequences of our own "criminal aggression." In 1861-'65, we waged a war that exterminated chattel slavery; to-day we wage one that again crosses our escutcheon with the black bar-sinister of human bondage.

All government against the consent of the governed is tyranny. Well said Lincoln, "No nation is good enough to govern another nation against its will." "Give me liberty or give me death." Better a free man in barbarism than a bond-man in an imported hot-house civilization, introduced by bullets from rifles in the hands of soldiers, floating to conquest upon Bibles through a sea of beer and blood.

The question will be settled by the coming generation whether these travesties upon freedom, Napoleonic rather than Washingtonian in their character, shall be abolished by evolution or revolution. They must go, or democracy is a failure. If democracy is a failure, then God is a failure; for his word reveals him in Jesus Christ, as a Social Democrat. His rule of decision is: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." In other words, we are to seek for manhood, not mammon; act from principle, not policy; and stand for liberty, not license—remembering that violation of these fundamentals introduces sin into the national life.

"Sin does for a nation precisely what it does for an individual—degrades and ruins. History is a dismal roll-call of dead nationalities. Egypt, Nineveh, Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome, Hungary, Poland—what are they? Where are they? Ghosts of States dragged down and trampled out by sin. They had genius, intelligence, wealth, numbers, prowess, all the appliances of a luxurious civilization—so luxurious that the modern world deems itself rich when it but sweeps up their shattered fragments of empire. Their lack, their fatal lack, was *character*."

"What constitutes a State?
Not high-raised battlements and labored mounds,
Thick walls and moated gates,
Not cities proud with towers and turrets crowned,
Not broad-armed ports, where, laughing at the storm,
Rich navies ride. No, men, high-minded men,
Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain—
These constitute a State."

JAMES HOFFMAN BATTEN.

Macomb, Ill.

CAUSES OF THE POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF OUR TIME.

THE causes of the democratic movement of our time are mainly eight:

(1) Science and invention, especially the invention of fire-arms, printing, and modern facilities of transportation. Fire-arms made the peasant equal to the armed knight, and thereby helped to break the military strength of aristocracy and weaken the foundations of despotism. Printing brought the thought of the world within the reach of the poor. Transportation, steam power, and mechanical development have brought men into new relations and broken down old forms and fossilized ideas. Science and invention, through their whole expanse, have aided in the evolution of democracy; for they mean new truth, new thought, new sympathy; and thought and sympathy are inconsistent with oppression or despotic power.

(2) Commerce. In spite of the temptations and opportunities for private monopoly afforded by modern industrial development, we must recognize that even this has done much for liberty. We have seen in preceding papers that the commercial centers of Europe in the Middle Ages were the foci of liberty also, and that it is not a mere coincidence that the century of greatest industrial development is also the century of greatest democratic development. Both come largely from the same thought forces in the manifestation and creation of which commerce, invention, and discovery have played so important a part.

(3) The discovery of America, which roused the nations from their slumbers and stirred them to new activities, broke down the limitations of the past, both intellectual and material, and opened up fresh, vigorous ground in which new thought might grow and bloom more richly than in the worn and crowded soil of Europe, with its tainted air reeking full of false ideals and ancient prejudices.

(4) The influence of the Reformation, with its doctrine of individual judgment or self-government in religion, begetting a habit of mind more favorable to independent thought.

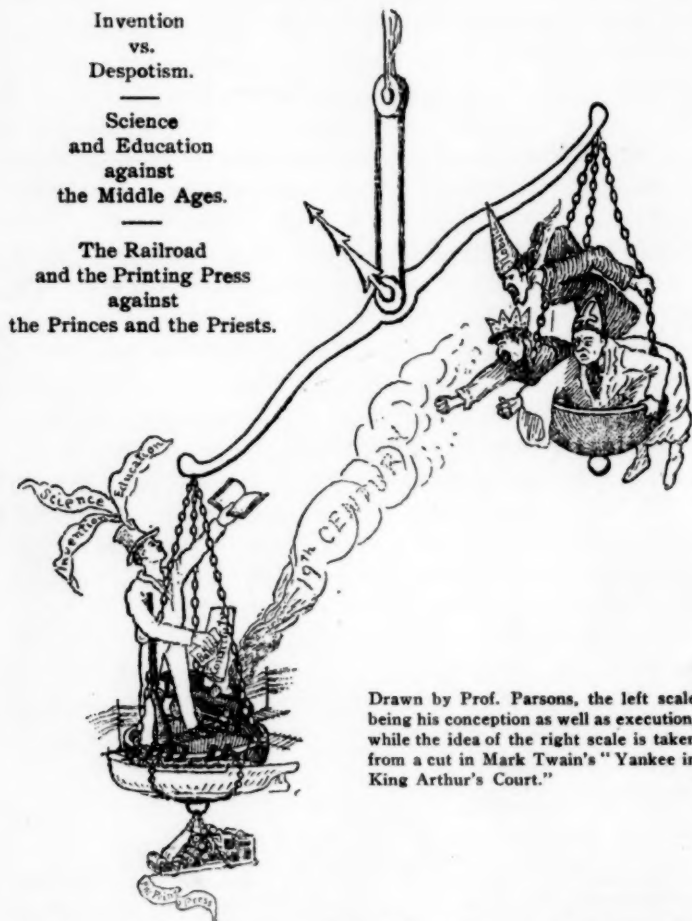
(5) The gradual evolution of intelligence and sympathy: the upward lift of the great forces that have brought men from savagery to civilization, slowly clarifying thought, deepening the sense of right and justice, broadening the sympathies, elevating the ideals of men, and opening the way to a fuller application of the highest civic and social, religious and ethical, principles.

(6) The radiation and convection of republican ideas from Greece and Rome and the free cities of the Middle Ages, and of English ideas of self-government, enlarged and developed in America, taken to France incarnate by Franklin and the soldiers who came to help our fathers win their independence, scattered by many influences through every class of society with a speed outrivalling even the mobility of scandal, and carried over Europe by the armies of Napoleon and the battalions of the allies who poured into France to destroy the "Republic" and reëstablish the Bourbon despotism, but themselves imbibed the spirit of liberty and constitutional government, and returned to their homes full of explosive thought and intellectual dynamite that were destined soon to blow the life out of absolutism in Western Europe. The allies could conquer the soldiers of France, but not her ideas. An invasion of armies may be repelled, but an invasion of thought is irresistible.

(7) As another cause merged partly in the last, but distinguished from the general processes of dissemination by its creative power and personal force, we must name the writings of Jefferson, Madison, and Paine in America, the speeches of Burke, Pitt, and Fox in England, the French Encyclopædia, and the works of Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau, stating the rights of man, denouncing tyranny, advocating representative government, and awakening the middle classes and even the young nobility of France to the love of liberty.

(8) The egregious blunders of English imperialism in

America and the Bourbon government in France, which gave hot cause and audience to the great democrats just mentioned



and roused the people to such a fever of revolt that political discussion became the main business of the time. American farms and villages were nests of revolution. Paris was deluged with pamphlets. They were read aloud on the streets to eager groups of workmen. In every coffee-house impassioned orators discussed the wrongs of government. The pub-

lic mind was filled with the hatred of absolutism and the longing for liberty. The friction became so great at last that the flames burst forth and a conflagration followed that has shriveled and burned the imperial institutions of the past.

THE FIRST EXPLOSIONS.

The political movement that saturates the century began with the American revolution.* France soon caught the impulse, and when the Bastille fell the despotisms of Europe were doomed. In both cases the principal point in irritation was a matter of taxation—the pocket nerve and the sense of right combined to produce a reaction.

The "Mayflower" brought the genius of revolution over the ocean. It is true that the Pilgrims came because "they wanted freedom to worship God in their own way, and make everybody else do the same." But, while a religious feeling not over liberal was the moving force, the Pilgrims imported much besides their energetic piety and limited Christian sympathies. They believed in local self-government, and established it with such effect that by the latter part of the eighteenth century the American Colonies were the freest communities in the world. They had their town and county democracies or representative systems, their State legislatures elected by the people and acting under written charters or constitutions, and the thread of British sovereignty was too slender and had to cross too wide a sea to stand much strain. The weight of taxation without representation and outside interference with finance and com-

* It is true that the English barons had forced King John to grant the Magna Charta in 1215, that local self-government had existed for centuries in England, that Parliament in 1689 had established a bill of rights as the basis on which William and Mary came to the throne, and that many of the principles of liberty and self-government were understood in England as in fact they were in ancient Greece and Rome; and yet it is none the less true that the nineteenth-century movement for the full application of those principles began with our Declaration of Independence, and that the English government was still an oligarchy long after our Republic was established. The political movement in England in the eighteenth century and up to 1832 was retrogressive, not progressive.

merce were too much. The slender thread was severed and the Colonies were free.



"Hands Off!"
"My Person is sacred."

The Literary
Attack on Royalty.

Drawn by Prof. Parsons, with slight modification, from a cut in Mark Twain's "Yankee in King Arthur's Court."

Let us see how the movement toward democracy got its start in Europe.

EUROPE AT THE OPENING OF THE CENTURY.*

At the opening of this century there were 175 millions of people in Europe, 4 millions of them (or about one man in ten) being under arms, and 160 millions belonging to the unprivileged classes, nearly all land being owned by less than one per cent. of the people, the monopoly of learning being also very close, and the monopoly of political power narrowest of all.

American democracy was little more than a decade old and every government in Europe was absolute, though Holland, France, and Switzerland were republican in theory, and free institutions had made some progress in England.

Europe had been engaged in a war with France for 8 years, and the struggle was to continue for about 15 years more. For a quarter of a century, the main effort of the people of Europe was to shoot

* The facts here grouped in analytic form and reduced to their lowest terms may be found more fully stated in ordinary form in Judson's "Europe in the Nineteenth Century" and Mackenzie's "Nineteenth Century" (to both of which I am indebted), and may be followed in full detail in the special histories of the various countries.

one another, burn one another's cities, and destroy one another's homes and property. The monarchs of Europe combined to destroy republican ideas in France, because their existence in one country made every throne unsafe; and so 150 millions were fighting 25 millions, because the 25 millions had denied the divine right of kings, risen in revolution against the nobility, proceeded to elect their own rulers, and announced their intention of aiding other peoples to establish republican institutions.

Such was the general situation in Europe at the opening of the century. Democracy was in the throes of birth in the Old World—a painful birth because of unwholesome conditions.

FRANCE BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

The social conditions in France before the Revolution of 1789 were briefly these:

Privileged classes on top of the unprivileged masses—despotism and aristocratic privilege.

A few individuals (between one and two per cent. of the population) monopolized land, learning, religion, wealth, and power.

1. The royal family with absolute power and enormous revenue.
Legislation consisted simply of edicts from the king.
2. The nobility (about 30,000 families—100,000 or 150,000 persons)
Owned a large part of the best land.
And had numerous privileges:
 Could pursue game over peasants' fields, destroying their crops in ruthless sport.
 The peasant's grain must be ground in the lord's mill.
 His bread must be baked in the lord's oven.
 His grapes must go to the lord's press.
 He must pay rent to the lord, and work so many days on the lord's land.
 The nobles were exempt from nearly all taxes, and from military duty.
 They had a monopoly of official positions in the army, navy, churches, and State.
 They were idle, arrogant, unsympathetic, extravagant, oppressive.
3. The Church (over 100,000 persons vowed to religion)
 Owned one-fourth to one-third of the best soil.
 Received in rent and proceeds about \$50,000,000 a year.
 Had also tithes to about an equal amount.
 The great prelates absorbed most of the income.
4. Beneath these privileged classes who controlled religion, politics, and wealth was the "3d estate," or
 The common people, 98 to 99 per cent. of the nation, or about 25,000,000 persons.



Taken with slight change from cut in Mark Twain's "Yankee in King Arthur's Court," by permission of Mark Twain.

- (a) The middle classes, merchants, lawyers, etc., dwelling in cities, organized into guilds, despised by nobles, hated by the poor.
- (b) The proletariat or peasantry, overtaxed, subject to compulsory labor for kings and nobles, conscripted into the army, harassed and angered by the unjust privileges of the upper classes.
- (c) The masses of rags and misery in the big cities, out of which came the Jacobin clubs and the mobs of the Revolution.

SPECIAL FACTORS IN THE FRENCH UPHEAVAL.

The political, intellectual, and material factors of principal interest in relation to the French Revolution may be stated thus:

- 1. An absolute monarchy.
- 2. A few privileged nobles and churchmen.
- 3. An extravagant court.
- 4. Enormous salaries for officials.
- 5. Corruption everywhere in high life.
Offices and judgeships bought and sold.
- 6. Heavy taxes and burdens on those least able to bear them.
Those who grew the fruit and grain had little to eat because nearly all the produce went to pay taxes and support the privileged classes in luxurious idleness. Out of every 100 francs earned the peasant must pay more than 50 to the collector, 14 to the landlord, 14 more to the Church—for tithes, etc.—and from the remainder he must satisfy the excise man and his own necessities. The poor peasant had about 15 francs out of 100 for his own use, 85 per cent. going for taxes and burdens.
- 7. Terrible contrast between the wretched condition of the peasantry and the luxury of the nobles. The poor can stand it when all are poor as in early Rome, and in early years here, and they can stand inequality if there is hope of rising; but hopeless poverty in the midst of wealth created by the labor of the poor becomes unendurable when the poor begin to think.
- 8. Arrogant contempt of the classes for the masses, and vigorous hate of the masses for the classes.
- 9. Rising intelligence of the people.
Poverty and oppression mingled with thought and courage make the most dangerous explosive known to history.

10. The skeptical and disruptive writings of Voltaire and Rousseau and their followers, attacking religion, government, privilege, every established institution, and urging with tremendous force the cause of liberty and equality.

11. The example of American democracy and the influence of American thought.

"Taxation without representation is tyranny," said the Americans when asked to pay a trifling duty. The French people were crushed by taxation without representation. Those who grew the grain had no bread because nearly all they produced went in taxes and dues. The peasant began dimly to see that he was miserable because too much was taken from him and too much was taken from him because the privileged classes did not pay their share.

12. Finally, the government was bankrupt. For years there had been an annual deficit of about 35 million dollars. The taxes were already unbearable and could not be increased. In 1787 Louis had called the Notables—the chief nobles and the prelates—together to consider the situation. The Notables refused to tax their own property, or to give up any of their privileges. Their short-sighted greed held closed the only door of peaceful exit, and revolution was inevitable.

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION IN BRIEF.

Wherefore the causes of the French Revolution appear in briefest form to be:

1. Too much taxes.
2. Extravagant and bankrupt government.
3. Oppressive monopoly of power and privilege in the hands of kings and nobles.
4. A gale of democratic thought.
5. A weak king and vicious nobles all blind to the signs of the times.

How could there fail to be an explosion?

The financial breakdown was the immediate proximate cause.

But progressive thought,
love of liberty,
growth of democratic sentiment,
and oppressive monopoly
were the real underlying forces.

Condensing the essence of the matter into one sentence we find:

THE FUNDAMENTAL FACT IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION WAS RESISTANCE TO POLITICAL DESPOTISM, AND THE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE WAS THE RISING INTELLIGENCE OF THE PEOPLE GOADED INTO ACTION BY MONOPOLY AND OPPRESSION.

THE RESULTS IN FRANCE.

The Constitution of 1790 abolished hereditary titles and offices and the whole list of feudal customs and privileges, confiscated the land and property of the Church, established local self-government, and vested the power of legislation in a single chamber elected by the people, but retained the king with a veto on legislation. The monarchs of Europe, viewing this outrageous disregard of vested privileges and fearing the spread of these dangerous ideas of liberty and democracy, invaded France to punish the offenders, and put Louis on the throne again. Louis showed his sympathy with the invaders, abused his veto power, and tried to escape. He was deposed, condemned, and executed. France was declared a republic in 1792, and, partly in return for the insolent interference of foreign nations in the domestic affairs of France, partly in deep enthusiasm for liberty, the Convention proclaimed that France would carry liberty to all nations.

In 1795 a republican constitution was formed with two legislative chambers and an executive directory of five. But France, though her longing for liberty was great, did not know how to be a republic. It takes experience to be a republic. Factional wars, the arbitrary rule of despotic demagogues, the dread control of angry mobs, and finally (1799) the sovereignty of the soldier Bonaparte, mangled and murdered the French Republic. But the deep thought movement that had caused the Revolution was not lost. The intelligent recognition of the evils of private monopoly in government grew stronger as the years went by, the knowledge of true methods and past errors clearer, and the public sentiment demanding real democracy more intense, till finally a republic strong enough to stand the ills of infancy was born in France.

THE EFFECT UPON EUROPE.

The impulse of democracy—the ideal of liberty, equality, and fraternity—swept out from France all over Europe. It has gathered force as thought has grown and knowledge has

been diffused. Here and there throughout the century it has shown its strength and demanded free institutions, and, after frequent failures and vanishing successes, has now in all the civilized lands of Europe established so large a degree of constitutional government that "democracy henceforth may win her battles with ballots rather than with bullets."

CAUSES OF GROWING UNION AND SPREAD OF CIVILIZATION.

The growth of national union and federal combination has occurred in part by fusion in the heat of war, in part by wise prevision of the strength that would result, and in still larger part by the welding force of commerce, the attractions of race, love, and loyalty to king, and the uniting power of common thought and interests, acting with special vigor on adjacent peoples similar in blood and language and tradition.

The spread of civilization round the globe has come about through emigration of advanced and active peoples through war and conquest, and through commerce, intellectual and material. Even the "dark continent" and the heart of Asia are yielding to the locomotive and the electric wire. Commerce will yet turn the light on the jungles of Africa and the wastes of Siberia.

Thus we find the causes much the same for the three chief formative principles of the political progress of the nineteenth century. Democracy, nationality, or federation, and the spread of civilization, rise out of commerce, science, invention, thought development, acting sometimes at moderate temperatures and sometimes at battle heat. The mariner's compass gave us America, with all its possibilities of liberty and progress. Steam power, railroads, telegraphs, and printing-presses are the greatest civilizers, unifiers, and democratizers known to man.

The fundamental force is thought and its principal conditions are largely economic. The same century and the same peoples that have developed democracy have also developed civilization and unity and have given the world its richest in-

tellectual and material progress. As we have seen, the relation is one of causation. Given the principles and discoveries known to the Middle Ages, some capacity for new ideas, a reasonable possibility of thought-diffusion, and the pressure of a need or longing that by united effort may be satisfied, and you have the conditions of progress toward *democracy* (which is cerebration,* thought-diffusion, and coöperative effort, taking effect upon the form of government), *unity* (which is cerebration, thought-diffusion, and coöperative effort, taking effect on the extent and cohesiveness of coördination and organization), and the *spread of civilization* (which is cerebration, thought-diffusion, and coöperative effort, taking effect on the whole industrial, political, and social life of the world).

CONCLUSION.

Several important conclusions are suggested by the preceding discussion, three of which may be noted here:

1. The conditions in Europe before the French Revolution show what vast injustice and enormous burdens a people trained to ignorance and submission may be made to endure—endure almost like thoughtless oxen goaded through the flaming hours to tickle Nature into yielding her rich stores for others—endure eternal drudgery, toiling for leave to live, while others frolic with the profit the drudgery produces.

2. The movement toward democracy, union, and civilization is likely to continue in the twentieth century with exceeding vigor, for the underlying causes of the movement—commerce, invention, thought development and diffusion, love of liberty and justice, sympathy, and sense of right—were never so potent as they are to-day. Forces that when feeble lifted the nations out of despotisms fastened upon them by ages of

*Used in the sense of creative effort, brain-bloom, the evolution of new ideas, the solution of problems in government, science, and philosophy.

absolute power and prejudice will not in the days of their strength be overcome by any remnant of the despotic spirit. There is no danger of serious relapse unless the spirit of mastery, still free to grow in the soil of industry, develops so much faster than the love of liberty and justice, thought, sympathy, and the equalizing and unifying forces of commerce and invention that it is able to control education and government as well as the means of subsistence, and through this triple control succeeds in reducing the people to habits of thought and life consistent with subjection—bringing them back once more to the ox and cart-horse stage of existence. Of such a possibility we are not entitled fully to judge till we have carefully studied the forces at work in the industrial field and analyzed the intellectual and moral movements of our time. But from our studies so far it would seem that neither the trusts and monopolies in America, nor Russia in the Old World, can offer more than a temporary obstruction to the resistless sweep of the giant forces that are moving the world toward democracy. In fact there is reason to think that the trusts and Russia may on the whole prove valuable aids to progress: Russia by stirring the stagnant life of Asia, startling its millions into action and development, and opening the continent to nobler life; and the trusts by obliterating sectional and national lines, destroying antagonisms, fusing industries and peoples, and teaching, with enormous emphasis, the benefits of coöperation and the evils of partial coöperation. The trusts are not merely eliminating conflict and chaotic production and distribution, municipally and nationally, but are carrying organization across the boundaries of nations and tying the peoples together with chains of steel and gold.

3. Education, organization, public opinion, and law should suffice for future progress without the use of military force. Conditions requiring battle for the development of democracy no longer exist in most civilized nations. There are people who believe there is a parallel between present conditions and those in France before the Revolution. Seeing the rapid con-

centration of wealth in this country, and the hold it has on some of our governments, and the organization of labor to resist the power of capital, they predict a revolution here. But they fail to note several important facts. It is true that the concentration of power and privilege in the hands of a few was the cause of the French Revolution, but it is not true that every concentration of power and privilege need cause revolution. In France, before the Revolution, the people had no ballot, no free schools, no free press. In America now the conditions are totally different. (1) The common people now have the ballot, and therefore have no need of revolution to accomplish their purposes. (2) Intelligence and sympathy have expanded greatly in the last hundred years. (3) Many of the wealthy are as anxious as the poor to improve the conditions of labor and establish justice in the production and distribution of wealth. (4) The Anglo-Saxon blood has a higher boiling point than the Gallic. In England during the nineteenth century a people of our blood have accomplished the transformation from aristocratic despotism to a substantial democracy, without revolution. In Belgium recently a people of more explosive nature have by peaceful organization compelled the grant of universal suffrage, without resort to violence. (5) The concentration of power and privilege in the United States, serious as it is, is nothing compared to the depth and extent of poverty and the absolute denial of civic rights in France before the Revolution. Nor can our problem deepen to a parallel unless our monopolists come to own the schools or the ballot box, which is not likely, for the people own them now for the most part, and realize their value, and will guard them with vigilant care.

The hosts of progress can win their victories without bullets. Perhaps the *monopolists* may resort to arms when they find that fraud can no longer check the advance of democracy, political and industrial. This seems to me improbable, but if it should occur progressives would fight, not as revolutionists, but in defense of established rights and settled methods of

procedure. There is every reason to believe that the progress of the future here may be secured without revolution. There may be riots in the larger cities, as there have been already; but the change on the whole bids fair to be an evolution, not a revolution.

FRANK PARSONS.

Boston University School of Law.

THE FUTILITIES OF REFORMERS.

THERE must be some good reason for the etymological contempt into which the very word "reform" has fallen. Nothing can condemn a party so certainly to defeat as the reform label. The reasons for this are many, and are perhaps to be sought for in the reformers themselves. Municipal government is honeycombed with corruption; there is speculation in the financial departments, irregularities in the tax office, collusion between the police and the gamblers and keepers of houses of ill repute. A spasm of virtue passes through the community; a group of well-meaning "reformers" starts out to set things right, usually by the utterly hopeless method of voting good men into office. Few reformers of this class perceive that the causes of municipal corruption lie deep; that they are economic rather than political, and that these abuses are surface indications arising primarily from the economic slavery of the individual, and secondarily from the apathy engendered in part by the denial to cities of the powers of self-government and the regulation and control of their own affairs. I say "in part" by reason of this denial of the city's natural self-governing functions, thus resulting in the loss of civic responsibility in the individual—but only in part. There is a broader reason. Good government or bad government means little to the average citizen. His rent is not higher if government is corrupt, nor lower if government is honest; therefore, he has little interest in higher taxes or lower taxes. Appeals to his sense of honesty may awaken a faint sentiment of hostility to the thieves in public office, because they *are* thieves, not because they injure him. This hostility may flame for a moment into what we term "righteous indignation," but it is the nature of indignation, whether righteous or otherwise, that is not founded on a sense of personal injury, to be short-lived; and this is the only basis for the temporary success of these reform movements, when they are successful at all.

We might perhaps trust the altruistic spirit to accomplish wonders if the majority of men were not too busy in a life-and-death struggle for a mere livelihood. But we are dealing with a world as it is, not a world as it ought to be. The man without property has, it is true, a very acute and direct interest as to how taxes should be imposed; but under present methods mere questions of percentages, of a higher or lower rate, do not concern him pecuniarily, and therefore will not interest him long morally.

To ask your reformer of a certain type to appreciate this profound fact in economic life is to ask too much of men whose only knowledge of the world is derived from their little familiar circle of business acquaintances, and their only knowledge of the laws governing society from the teachings, nebulously remembered, of their college text-books—teachings that indeed were best forgotten. Such reformers usually end by advocating the restriction of the franchise to property-holders instead of the more reasonable methods of substituting systems of taxation that will increase the number of direct taxpayers.

Let us go in imagination, as many of us have in reality, into some convention of reformers. Let us take a glance over the assembly and ask ourselves how in point of physiognomy it will compare with a convention of railroad presidents. Look at the faces. Which gathering would you choose as representing, in outward appearances at least, the average intelligence of the nation? The first would give you exceptional individuals, incomparably higher, spiritually and mentally, than the second, but the second would outrank it mentally on the average. In the first would be found an utter absence of any unity of policy or cohesiveness, or agreement upon what steps should first be taken—far more bickerings and little egotisms, petty ambitions to which the great aim is subordinated, and overwhelming self-consciousness.

Look at your labor leaders. The average is higher than it used to be, and I think is improving year by year. From Martin Irons to Sovereign, from Sovereign to Debs, and from Debs to Mitchell are gratifying steps in the upward progress;

but there is still much to be desired. The leaders of the reform movements are not intellectually the peers of the men they are attacking—the upholders of special privilege. And why should we expect it of them? It would be strange indeed if the men who are fighting for the retention of unjust privileges, unearned leisure, and inordinate wealth to command knowledge, should not have profited by these advantages. But no real good can be gained by closing our eyes to the facts.

I have known of but few reformers who were able to appreciate both the abstract and concrete sides of a problem. We sometimes speak of abstract questions, of concrete questions, but in reality all questions are of these two attributes; that is to say, every action involves the problem of concrete practicability, and the greater question of the universal laws of Justice and social well-being.

There is something almost feminine in the average reformer's appreciation of the impossible. One can almost fancy him clapping his hands with joyful enthusiasm at some incredible line of action, with the exclamation, "How delightfully impracticable!" I am at a loss to explain, except by reason of this attitude of mind, the policy, for example, of your anarchist and your "class conscious" socialist. I do not mean by anarchist the mythical person who wants to throw bombs at Mr. Rockefeller but the "philosophic" anarchist, so called on the principle of *locus a non lucendo*, who proposes to abolish all government, constructive as well as repressive, by—how shall we say?—a concerted action of society, since it cannot be done by the individual, but which inevitably involves an act of government. Of course, your "philosophic" anarchist does not mean what he says, since at his own meetings he helps to elect a chairman, and the chairman governs within rules, which again are acts of government. But if he does not mean what he says why does he say it? Merely because of the reformer's incurable love of paradox, not to speak of his confusion of things unlike which go under the same names. Government may mean one of many things—a President, a policeman, a

clean street, a town council, a public park, a jailer, or a hangman. Your anarchist condemns government *per se*, by which he means only the government he dislikes in contradistinction to the government he believes in, and which he sometimes calls "voluntaryism."

One defect reformers possess in common—extreme intellectual narrowness. This arises from the dwelling of the mental vision too exclusively upon one point. This habit of mind is indeed the origin of all monomania, and curious are the phases it takes in the minds of your social reformers; sometimes it is the very madness of impracticability. Take your "class conscious" socialist, with his infatuation for futility and failure. "Would you," said I to a representative of one of these, "work for the municipal ownership of public franchises if advocated by a party numerically strong enough to insure success at the polls?" "No," said this class-conscious idiot, "no class-conscious socialist would."

The error of the Single Taxers—far more intelligent and numerically more powerful than the Socialists—is of a different kind. Curiously enough, they err in the opposite direction. The Single Taxer is an earnest, persistent, and forceful advocate of his reform at all times except during an election. Then he is a Cleveland Free Trader, a Bryan zealot, a free silverite, or a Chicago Platform Democrat—anything but a Single Taxer. There were no reasons at all why the believers in the philosophy of Henry George should have supported Bryan in 1896. In the days of 1886, when Mr. George was electrifying the community by his campaign for the mayoralty, and later in the days of the Anti-Poverty Society, the Single Tax was a real movement. It has long since ceased to be a vital force to be reckoned with, omitting strong local manifestations. By allying themselves with the Democratic party, Single Taxers have earned the ill-will of many who sincerely desire social betterment, and they have not won to their cause a single influential Democrat. So little was their influence felt in the Democratic party, after eight years of active participation in its battles, that the question of taxation was ignored by the

Kansas City convention, and the introduction of the economically faulty income-tax plank was omitted from its platform by inadvertence—an omission rectified at the eleventh hour!

Those Single Taxers who, on the other hand, have chosen to follow the true policy of hewing to the line, letting the chips fall where they may, have received abundant justification for their course in the strong local manifestations we have indicated (in Boston and elsewhere); and the result furnishes a comparative estimate of the value of these two methods. It explains why, nationally, the influence of Single Taxers is absolutely *nil*, and why locally much real progress has been made. Where substantial victories in the influencing of public sentiment have been won they have been the result of singleness and directness of aim, and not of circumlocutory policies.

Compared with the policy of dissipation of effort pursued by Single Taxers, the method of your "class-conscious" socialist, though idiotic enough, seems positively heroic. But not only by their wellnigh unqualified indorsement of Democratic party principles have the Single Taxers accomplished nothing, but positively as well as negatively they have succeeded in injuring their own cause; and this they have done in two ways. By a passive acquiescence in the passionate lunacy of free silver, they have helped to perpetuate that policy, and by their own silence have seemed to approve the studied refusal of Mr. Bryan and the Democratic leaders to discuss the question of free trade—which if not logically bound up with the advocacy of the Single Tax as a political principle is at all events an indissoluble part of its great philosophy.

Among reformers engaged in the practical business of reform there is a want of that sureness of touch which characterizes the leaders in the hard and difficult world of trade and commerce. Too many of your reformers are erratic, unstable, lacking in poise and equilibrium, and intemperate and extravagant in action and speech. It is for this reason that the man who leads a strenuous mental life, who has absorbed that culture the latest fruits of which are poise and self-restraint and temperate if adequate modes of expression, is repelled.

The literary man and the artist, however much inclined to be social rebels, prefer to stand aloof from the hurly-burly of these passionate shouters who do not seem to have learned discipline, however real may be the wrongs against which they fulminate. This is why your artist is so seldom a reformer, save in the way of his art; and this is why the artist is so often accused, though sometimes with justice, of aristocratic aloofness. The artist of the days of Savonarola, however much his soul may have revolted against Florentine licentiousness, must similarly have stared aghast at Savonarola's vandalism. The man of artistic temperament at a later period would find himself more in unison with the thought of Erasmus than with that of Luther. If he did not shrink from Luther's crudity of thought, that episode of the ink bottle would decide him.

I sometimes wonder if many reformers do not cherish their reforms rather as pride of intellect than as a moral conviction to which they owe certain duties and responsibilities. I have rarely heard of any reformer of wealth leaving bequests in his will for the furtherance of the doctrines he believed in. Men give wealth to colleges, to hospitals, to poor relief, to private and public charity, but nothing to the cause of social amelioration and reconstruction, though organs and methods of propaganda languish for want of means. I have heard men of wealth depict in vivid colors the evils of discriminating and indiscriminating charity, and insist that nothing short of the abolition of the present social system could permanently benefit mankind, but to the first cause they gave generously and to the latter grudgingly. A few millionaires have distributed in endowments tenfold greater sums than were ever given to the cause of social reform, estimating the proportion relatively to the means of these two classes of donors.

There is some justification for the charge flung in the face of the reformer that he should first of all reform himself. Too many are oblivious of their own characteristic shortcomings; too many are conspicuous examples of partial failure because of one-sided individual development. We do well to attack with all the weapons at our command, and with all our might,

the evils of society, but we should first of all remember that it is as individuals that others will regard us; that our words will have weight only as we bear ourselves like men; that our personal usefulness is apt to be in the same ratio as our sense of personal responsibility. To reformers above all others is this lesson important; the carrier of the message must show himself superior to the faults and foibles that society, because it sees only superficialities, learns the soonest to detect and despise, and, despising the messenger for his defects of mind or character, grows to ignore the message, or justifies its rejection by indicating the individual's deficiencies.

And we are now brought to the immediate situation in this city of New York. In 1897 the Citizens' Union spent \$156,000 to defeat Tammany Hall—and was itself defeated. One hundred and fifty-six thousand dollars! How Croker must have smiled at that! Why, Tammany gives that and more to its district leaders to spend in ways that will do the most good. The foes of Tammany, rich men having much at stake, gave, some of them, as much as \$100, after a good deal of persuasion. The Tammany district leaders will spend that in one saloon in drinks for "the boys." One hundred and fifty-six thousand dollars to defeat an organization whose power rests upon public franchises in its gift or under its protection amounting in value to hundreds of millions!

Oh, it will be said, surely the expenditure of money by honorable, upright men in the manner Tammany expends it is not to be thought of. Well, how does Tammany distribute the funds it raises to influence and carry elections? It cannot be denied that the greater portion is spent legitimately, and of that which is not strictly so spent a very small proportion goes in the direct purchase of votes. It does not go in that way because it is really not needed. It is not the purchasable electorate that keeps the Tammany organization in power. A great deal of money expended is used to quicken and maintain enthusiasm among "the boys"; and it by no means follows that this necessarily involves its corrupt use.

But the chief point these honorable gentlemen who are op-

posing Tammany should bear in mind is this: If a thorough opposition organization to Tammany is to be kept alive, it must be supported by generous contributions. If New York is worth rescuing it is worth rescuing at a pecuniary cost, and if the Tammany opposition cannot match Tammany's expenditure dollar for dollar the reform movement will lack vitality. If reform is worth anything it is worth something in dollars and cents.

And then it will be of service to our good friends to inquire how it comes about that Tammany is willing and able to spend such large sums of money. A great deal is raised by that species of police blackmail which has always prevailed in this and other great cities. For that there is no one to blame but the community itself, which has made the inevitable vices and many of the harmless follies of men illegal. Another source of these contributions is to be found in the assessment of clerks and officeholders, but for this the community is again to blame in making public salaries higher than private salaries for the same grades of service. But this explains only a small part of the money after all. There are "bosses" who control nominations; there are men, the holders of valuable franchises, who are interested in getting the wrong kind of men nominated, and they are willing to pay for it. And right here is the answer to the New York *World's* question as to where Croker "got it." The larger source of bossism and most of the corruption of city government is to be sought for in the men *behind* Croker.

There are some people who think that reform means vice-hunting, and that the city's redemption is accomplished when you close up the saloons at one o'clock at night, or change a pool-room where people may openly enter and wager their money on a horse race into a club-room where they may do the same thing in greater secrecy. How very melancholy it all is! We will have corrupt government as long as people do not understand that the true function of government is not the reformation of the individual but the protection of rights. Every man feels instinctively that he has a right to drink as

he likes, to spend his money as he likes; he resents the impertinence of government interference—and in the main he is right. Grown men will be not better men, but worse, and public administration more corrupt, by every renewed attempt to suppress or regulate the inevitable vices and follies of men, nearly all of which spring from misgovernment and the denial of man's inalienable rights.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

New York.

THE ETHICS OF THE LAND QUESTION.

THE thought of our times presents some very hopeful aspects. It is coming to be more generally recognized that Christianity addresses itself to man both individually and collectively; that it inquires of his ideals and obligations not only as a man but as a citizen; that it calls upon him to be true to his best self and no less true to his brother, and to all those multiplied obligations involved in modern civilization.

In the ideal, all activities are prompted by an ethical motive, and we may be thankful that the call of humanity to-day is for a faith which addresses itself to the righting of wrong in the community as well as in the individual. This is but one expression of that more enlightened, more worthy conception of religious duty which is dawning upon the world.

In the effort to solve social problems this better faith must be clear and unequivocal, and our devotion to its guidance must be consistent and continuous. So long as there remains a social problem unsolved, a grievance unredressed, so long will it be most fitting for all philanthropic and broad-minded men to inquire as to their immediate duty respecting them, and the best means of that duty's fulfilment. Present-day discussion emphasizes a truth, which always has been recognized by the world's best leadership, *viz.*, that the adjustment of all problems, whether communal or international, must ultimately be referred to the court of justice. Inquiries as to expediency are not to be admitted in clearly defined issues between right and wrong. Truth has no sufferance for error. This was Christ's supreme emphasis, which the world is so unwilling to accept. Protest may not be immediately effective, but its assertion must be swift, its maintenance unswerving.

Our theme, "*the ethics of the land question*," is very satisfying in its terms, for it is intuitively felt to be fundamental,

and that it covers the ground and explanation of a host of minor issues which have obscured it in public thought. Whatever, therefore, we may accomplish here can but prove of lasting significance. Nothing but the recognition of ethical values can give us that point of view which is essential to true progress, and every right-minded man will concede that any condition or proposition which is morally wrong must in the long run prove economically impractical and injurious, while that which is morally right must be feasible and beneficent.

No wonder of modern civilization is more striking and extraordinary than its abnormalities and contradictions. With a wealth of natural resources in this country that is relatively inexhaustible, enough to abundantly supply fifty if not one hundred times our population, millions of our people are struggling to maintain a bare existence, and involuntary poverty, with all the despair and degradation it entails, is known in all our centers of population. Fortunes which would make a Cræsus comparatively poor are being accumulated with a rapidity never before known, while of every hundred men in the country forty have not been able to accumulate enough to bury them decently. New York City enumerates its hundreds of multi-millionaires, yet one hundred and fifty thousand workingwomen in that city, according to a late authority, receive on an average less than sixty cents a day.

Labor-saving machinery is more abundant and in more general use in America than at any other time or in any other place, and yet labor has not been relieved of its unrelenting drudgery, nor has it reaped any such benefit as would have been legitimately anticipated. The sewing-machine has been in use for forty years, and yet the poor seamstress toils as of old at her shirts, for which she receives a starvation wage of sixty to eighty cents a dozen.

Men here enjoy a freedom, individual and social, never before known, and yet our peace has again and again been imperiled by a surging dissatisfaction and unrest which are an evidence that our industrial conditions seem unjust and unbearable to labor.

A great deal of legislation has been enacted, ostensibly for the benefit of the laborer and consumer, and yet heartless and unblushing monopoly, labor's greatest enemy, has assumed dangerous and threatening proportions, while the concentration of wealth, which has always preceded national decay and downfall, goes on with ever-increasing rapidity.

What shall we say in view of these things, but that manifestly there is something fundamentally, morally, and therefore economically wrong? The startling and dreadful exhibition of antagonism to constituted authority which has recently afflicted this and other nations cannot be adequately explained apart from the insidious and unconscious effects of centuries of imposition and wrong suffered by the common people at the hands of powers which have been indifferent to their sorrows and their rights. Wrong may be sullenly endured for ages, but it instils a malice and a hatred which will ultimately strike back with the bestial blindness of a French Revolution, or the assassination of the just and high-minded President of a nation where labor has enjoyed the fullest privilege and reaped the richest reward.

The sense of the seriousness of the situation is growing more general and intense, and, in the opinion of an ever-increasing number of our sanest, freest-minded thinkers, the world's basic wrong is perpetuated to-day in the land question: a question that lies beneath the labor question, the monopoly question, the concentration of wealth question, the wage question, and many another minor problem.

We should make a lamentable mistake at this point if we did not carefully discriminate between the wilful infliction of injury by individuals and the infliction of that injury as the result of conditions for which, through ignorance chiefly, we are all responsible. Not men, but methods, statutes, and commonly accepted economic ideas, are responsible, and these alone should be condemned.

It is also important as well as encouraging for us to remember that, in considering any subject which appeals directly to the intuitive sense of right, the great majority of unprejudiced

men will reach the same conclusions if they but have a mutual and perfect understanding of the terms employed. Let us therefore disclose, if we can, the exact content of the words we use. What do we mean by "land," and what is "The Land Question"? These inquiries answered, we are confident the ethics of the subject, its moral quality, relations, and tendencies, will appear as the spring flowers reveal themselves after their winter's covering is removed.

Land, in general thought, stands for soil, but in its economic sense it embraces all those natural resources which are essential to life, which are not the product of labor, and which are the raw material out of which and by the use of which wealth is produced. In this economic sense land includes water, air, light, the virgin forests, the coal, the oil, and the mineral deposits beneath the surface. It is the world, with which man finds himself environed.

An absolute necessity to life, and the only source of wealth, land must inevitably be in universal demand, and this awakens by natural order the supreme inquiry, "*To whom does land belong?*" *This is the Land Question*; and it seems very simple, nevertheless it is the one of all economics which has been the most obscured and misapprehended.

We have been religiously taught long since that the earth is the Lord's, for he made it. This was one of the gladdest voices in Hebrew song and story. The prophets and seers reëchoed it to the children of the world, and in this initial assertion were grounded the institutions, the legislation, and the economy of the chosen race. "For he made it";—that is, ownership is and always has been grounded in production or creation, and hence the declaration that the land belongs to God. But has he not given it to men? In a very important sense, yes. He creates but to give. He manifests but to minister. God has given the use of land to the children of men, freely and of obligation withal, for their life hangs upon the giving, and the gift must in justice measure to the need. Physical life is absolutely dependent upon land, and it is surprising that so manifest a truth should need such constant repetition.

The cry of hunger is in the very nature of things a demand that God shall give, and a witness that God has given the support of life with the possibility of life.

This gift is not unconditioned. Privilege is indissolubly linked to effort. "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread," and this, too, in the very nature of things. *The coincidence of life and life's necessities is the transcendent fact in which equality of human right is grounded.* It is ethically unthinkable that God should be the author of a life whose nourishment he inadequately provided for, Malthus to the contrary notwithstanding. The Malthusian idea was this—that reproduction constantly trenches upon subsistence; that God has made the family too large for the table; and, to its shame, so-called Christian economics has in the past accepted this doctrine as a solution of the problem! ("Nature is niggardly," said Mill, a very good man!)

God *has* given the land, *for use*, to the children of men, but *not for monopoly*. This was a profound Hebraic concept, for which the realization and maintenance were duly provided in the Mosaic economy. Moses not only arranged for the fair division of the land among the people, and for making it fallow and common every seventh year, but by the institution of the jubilee he provided for a redistribution of the land every fifty years, and thus made monopoly impossible.

This thought was not, however, peculiar to the Hebrew, for it has appeared to sunlit-men, in all times, as an axiomatic proposition. Indeed, our present idea and theory of the privilege of monopoly in land are scarcely two centuries old, and are consonant only with a government which is monarchical and autocratic. The protest against this later conception has ever been maintained by the profoundest thinkers and most eminent economists. Listen to some of their testimonies:

"Given a race of human beings having like claims to pursue the objects of their desires; given a world adapted to the gratification of those desires—a world into which such beings are similarly born—and it unavoidably follows that they have equal rights to the use of this world." (Herbert Spencer.)

"When the 'sacredness of property' is talked of, it should be remembered that any such sacredness does not belong in the same degree to landed property. No man made the land. It is the original inheritance of the whole species. Its appropriation is wholly a question of general expediency. When private property in land is not expedient it is unjust." (John Stuart Mill.)

"Properly speaking, the Land belongs to these two: The Almighty God and to all His Children of Men that have ever worked well on it, or shall ever work well on it. No generation of men can or could, with never such solemnity and effort, sell Land on any other principle: it is not the property of any generation, we say, but that of all the past generations that have worked on it, and of all the future ones that shall work on it." (Thomas Carlyle.)

"Under the feudal system the proprietor was the Crown, *as representing the nation*; while the subordinate tenures were held with duties attached to them, and were *liable, nonfulfilment, to forfeiture*." (James Anthony Froude.)

"The question of the unearned increment will have to be faced. It is unendurable that great increments which have been formed by the industry of others should be absorbed by people who have contributed nothing to that increase." (The Right Hon. John Morley.)

"The reserved right of the people to the rental value of land must be construed as a condition to every deed." (U. S. Supreme Court.)

"The land question means hunger, thirst, nakedness, notice to quit, labor spent in vain, the toil of years seized upon, the breaking up of homes, the misery, sickness, deaths of parents, children, wives, the despair and wildness which spring up in the hearts of the poor, when legal force, like a sharp harrow, goes over the most sensitive and vital right of mankind. All this is contained in the land question." (Cardinal Manning.)

"It is certainly true that any increase in the rental value or selling value of land is due, not to the exertions and sacrifices of the owners of the land, but to the exertions and sacrifices of the community. It is certainly true that economic rent tends to increase with the growth of wealth and population, and that thus a larger and larger share of the product of industry tends to pass into the hands of the owners of land, not because they have done more for society, but because so-

ciety has greater need of that which they control." (General Francis Walker: "First Lessons in Economy.")

"The land of every country is the common property of all the people of that country, because the Creator made it as a voluntary gift to them. In the coal fields of Pennsylvania there are, under present conditions, for the *landlord*, millions; for the Railroad, tens of millions; for the *Miner* a bare subsistence." (The Bishop of Meath.)

"The earth belongs in usufruct to the living; the dead have no right or power over it." (Thomas Jefferson.)

These are significant words, but, in our search for the ultimate truth, the ground of Justice, we may go deeper here, with profit, and find behind physical phenomena and economics, in the realm of metaphysics, a yet clearer, more authoritative statement. Impelled by the manifestation of infinite Wisdom, and inscrutable and glorious mystery, Man posits God. Consciousness of self, of environment, of God—these three; and in their embrace we no longer think of Creation as a consummated fact of an indefinite past, but as an immediate and constant manifestation of the ever-present source of light and life and love. This is Christian Idealism.

And now we ask again, what is land; what is the world—the cosmos, as the Greeks named it? It is but the phenomena of force, says science; it is the expression of Love, says Christ: and they are one. Here the material atom vanishes and the essential fact of the world is seen to be a benevolent will working at every point in every instant for the betterment of men. The growth of the grain of wheat—who shall explain this miracle? Land, in the old thought, and labor, fail here, and the harvest comes not if Immanuel be not present. Are we shocked at the suggestion of God's servitude to men? But this is the heart of Calvary, and on every sunny hillside *where His ministry is withheld from humanity, there is infinite love again thwarted, crucified*; and we may well call this waving harvest Golgotha, for the dead are there; they were an hungered and they received no meat.

Who shall presume to defeat God's manifest purpose, that all his children who meet the condition he has imposed shall

have and to spare? Who shall maintain his right to withhold from use, and hence from ministry, the free gift of God? Who shall make it possible to inflict a greater wrong upon humanity by clogging these avenues of service, of appeal and of inspiration, through which a loving Father would reach and uplift his children? Think you the galley slave, taught that serfdom is of divine appointment, has the same opportunity to sense the Fatherhood of God as the free man who goes forth to his work in the possession of all that a free man would covet?

It is a sad and dreadful thing that men and women and little children from their birth should be made to companion with debasing poverty and wretchedness—should be compelled to fight for the mere opportunity to work; but how much more pitiful to remember that these conditions of enforced poverty rob them of the light and gladness and spiritual achievement which are the appointed inheritance of every man, because he is a son of God! "The Great Spirit has told me," said Black Hawk, "that land is not to be made property like other things. The earth is our Mother."

In the presence of this more spiritual concept of the World, the Ethics of the Land Question is not obscure. The wrong no longer pertains to an indefinite past when by conquest and rapine the rights of the many were seized by the few to be handed down and perpetuated through all the generations. On the contrary, it is present, concrete, and definitely located in every instance in which I withhold or monopolize that which God manifestly designs for others to-day; when I appropriate and maintain my exclusive right to that which I have in no sense produced, and to that unearned increment which is a communal product and that alone, and as such should be devoted to communal benefit and that alone. Human law may uphold the act, but it is unjust and immoral just the same. Human enactments may support the selfish cruelty of an intentional monopoly of natural resources, but the brute's fang is there, and it finds its way to the quivering flesh of humanity.

To deny the equal right of all to that which is necessary to life is to deny the right to life, and the maintenance of the privilege of monopoly of natural resources is an absolute contradiction and abrogation of that initial moral sense of humanity which found expression in the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. That this perception, this moral sense, is growing is beyond dispute. It has been happily termed the New Conscience, and its relation to present conditions has been startlingly expressed by one who said: "That which makes the ethical tragedy of the present moment is the chasm between existing civilization and the new conscience. The fact and forces which now organize industry and so-called justice violate the best instincts of mankind. The best force in civilization is helpless to effectuate itself in facts. Without regard to his conscience, *our economic system involves a man in the guilt of the moral and physical death of his brother*. Civilization denies to man that highest right under the sun—the right to live a guiltless life."

All altruistic endeavors, all sound economic legislation must grow out of the sense of the brotherhood of man. I say *sense*, not dogma or theory—but that sense which is awakened when we recognize man's spiritual reality as an individualized manifestation of the life of God. This moral sense is the hope of the future, for it is aggressive and purposeful. It demands an ethical adjustment. It will not die, it will not keep silent, it will cry aloud and the people will hear. It has always been so and it will be. The responsibility of delay will rest largely with you and me, for to us belong its leadership and propagation. Since the solution must be ethical, it must be the child of those who think ethically and who will nourish it as of God. The monopoly of land robs men of that equality of opportunity which is theirs by virtue of the axiomatic proposition that a man has a right to himself. It rests on human enactment, not on moral law.

Now, if it be true that the monopoly of natural resources is grounded in injustice and has been buttressed and perpetuated in wrong, it is manifestly an evil whose magnitude and far-

reaching consequences we can no more apprehend than we can fathom the sin and wretchedness it has begotten and entailed. Our so-called vested rights are too frequently but the rights of conquest, and they originated in the basest passions of men. They involve that continuous confiscation of labor which is the mainstay of unrighteous wealth, and from the fruits of which in our present civilization we may turn away appalled.

Further, the monopoly of natural resources inevitably tends to that concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, and involves that enslavement of the many, which in the past have resulted so frequently in revolution and disintegration, and which, if not checked, will the more surely so result in our own future, in view of the intelligence of our *Third Estate*. For we must remember that the average American laborer is not ignorant or stupid. The school, the library, the press, the pulpit—these have done their work, and woe to the economist who forgets that fact! To insist upon general education, and withhold justice from the people, is suicidal. If we stimulate mental growth we beget aspirations and desires that will demand more of opportunity and privilege and possession. Repression here will but presage revolution.

To-day, in this country, it is estimated that labor is paying for the privilege of access to its raw material, the free gift of God, about four hundred and fifty million dollars per annum; and this explains for the major part the fifty-five million dollars a year for the Rockefellers, and the less than five hundred dollars a year for the man who does the work. A situation involving so unjust a distribution of wealth and entailing such inequality of opportunity and privilege can but lead to acute stress, agitation, and danger. The Declaration of Independence is all right, but the equality of opportunity we have talked about is not being realized.

If we would avoid the repetition of some of the saddest chapters of history, we do well to set ourselves at once to the ethical solution of this Land Question. The right way will surely open and the best method appear as soon as our ignor-

ance is dissipated and we become altogether responsive to our highest conceptions of truth and right; for if the power that makes for righteousness is thoughtful of us as individuals, and there is an eternal law governing our conduct as units, which law we cannot ignore without imperiling our best interests for the present and future, it must be true also that a corresponding rule is provided for the conduct of communities or social organizations. "No man liveth to himself alone," and the solution of social problems must manifestly lie in the discovery and apprehension of this law, the practical application and working out of its behests respecting the social order.

The ethics of the land question is embodied in the Golden Rule. The law of love is a law of service, and it is apparent that this law should obtain in economics the moment we consider our interdependence upon the physical plane. A man may be isolated in the spiritual life. We can conceive, at all events, that such a life is not necessarily dependent upon our relations to others. Indeed, we emphasize the thought that it is in the secret chamber, where a man finds himself in association with God alone, that his spiritual growth is most promoted. So, too, in the intellectual life, a man may be a recluse and practically ignore the mentality of his own time. He has the heritage of the years on which to feed, and all the delights and personal benefits accruing from a mastery of the literature and science of the past he may command, though he spend his years as a hermit. But upon the economic and physical plane we immediately realize that civilization has linked us to well-nigh all mankind. The common luxuries of our table, our apparel, our furnishings, and all those things which make up our daily satisfaction—these call into requisition the contribution of thousands of hands, and to each and all we are bound in equity to make a fair return for the benefits conferred. This calls for an equitable distribution of the products of labor. If our meal includes the gift of many climates and many lands, as it surely may, that not only signifies extended international intercourse by the pathways of the sea, but it means that we are individually called to make a satisfactory return through

hundreds of channels to the many individuals who have directly contributed to our comfort.

Sound economics must be grounded in social equity, and this fulfilling of the demands of justice in the give-and-take which necessarily characterizes our physical and social life—this it is that gives the land question such supreme significance, for the present order of things violates the fundamentals of justice.

Hear this clarion call of Wendell Phillips: "Seek out, publish, and as fast as possible bring society into harmony with the laws of justice. This is Social Science. All Labor asks is justice, not charity. Who shall teach us the full meaning of the word justice? 'Owe no man anything.' When that command is obeyed, Social Science will be dazzled out of sight by the millennium. That man is a Christian whose life and ethics respect the sacredness of the individual. That man is an infidel who is not with his own heart willing to bear his brother's burden."

It is not our present province to consider proposed methods of solving the problem; but this we may say—that the remedy must be simple, unequivocal, uncompromising. It must be prompted by a moral purpose, and applied for the good of humanity and the glory of God. The wrongs of the past cannot be righted, but present wrong-doing must cease; that is all. The remedy must not inflict permanent disabilities; it must not disturb the tenure of private possession, but it must be radical.

Involuntary poverty is a disgrace to Christian civilization; and involuntary poverty would certainly pass away if all natural resources were free to labor. The interdiction of special privilege in the control of natural resources would undoubtedly be a stunning blow to land monopoly and speculation in fictitious values, both of which have been a disadvantage to the higher interests of civilization.

The difficulties in the way of ethical advance are serious and abundant, but they are not insurmountable. The old thought declares that a man has no rights until he earns them; the new asserts his right to himself, to life, and to that which God has

provided for life's support. The lines are definitely drawn, and the conflict is at hand. Through ignorance, and under present conditions, the selfishness of human nature, and the inertia of our present order seem to resist the demands of our ethical idea, but we cannot turn back. If the people have not as yet the moral perception, they certainly are not insensible of the impending dangers.

The results of the realization of the divine purpose, as expressed in the ethics of the land question, would be so far reaching and so beneficent that one's heart is moved at the mere contemplation of the possibility; and to the consummation of this end we are urged and impelled, not only by considerations for justice and morality, but by our love of country and our hope of its perpetuity, by the cry of the involuntary poor, whose sorrow and suffering are to-day unfathomable, and by that love for our brother which is manifest in every *genuine* Christian life. Sentimental regard for those who may temporarily suffer must not control when a great wrong is to be righted. No consideration for the customary and the conventional must stay our hands. The injustice, the endured wrong, the sorrow of the centuries cries to us from the past: Dispel the ignorance; right the wrong!—and every poverty-crushed life in the garrets echoes the cry. Open every avenue for God's ministry to human hearts; fear not; set men free; honor their rights; give them opportunity with justice—and the truth will lead us on and upward.

J. BUCKLEY BARTLETT.

Boston, Mass.

THE OFFICE OF THE PREACHER.

IT is plain that religion has come to play a somewhat indifferent part in taking men to church, and that certain bribes in the way of music and social advantage must be offered as inducement. Despite the prodigious puffing which goes on to fan this dimming spark, we are now thinking the ceremony of the woods and fields will suffice; and for all sermons the stones preach well enough. 'Tis an age of heresy, and it will not down. But some will have it that the Church itself is the greater heresy, and the creed the real infidelity. If the preacher—say they—can neither heal nor inspire, we must strike out for ourselves.

The fact is that religion is coming from without the pale of the Church. It is not the clergy who are to-day the instruments of the revival of the spirit of religion. Almost it would seem that all there is left for the parson to do is to bury us, for help us to *live* in virtue of his office he surely cannot. As a man he may give us the example of an unselfish life, but as the exponent of a dead creed what can he offer us? No; the inspiration of the day comes not from the pulpit. And yet it is a noble office,—perhaps the highest,—this mission of inspiring and uplifting men, of revealing the true nature of life.

Upon every man is laid the necessity of expressing, so far as he is capable, the Divine Idea. The demand is made according to capacity. Of the office of the preacher, then, the demand is very great. Here is an office requiring a brotherhood of wise men—men of clear vision, of wise and resolute faith, of large understanding; men of big hearts and broad minds, but, more than this, men of large perception and insight. How, then, shall the timid pessimist aspire to such an office? What room for the sleek and mole-eyed materialist—in an office that is by right the ministry of great Idealism to the world?

The world is full of kindly souls who can minister to the body—carry jellies to the sick and bread and bacon to the

needy. But few there be that can "minister to a mind diseased." We are beset by illusions. Who can stimulate our consciousness when age and sickness and poverty come on apace? Who has for us the medicine of Truth? Who so wise he can give us a tonic for these? A very rare elixir indeed, distilled of divine essences which only the very rich in truth can acquire. But more need is there of this than of bacon and bread. There is a genius for acquiring this kind of wealth; it belongs by right to the preacher. Let him be rich, then, in this.

All the world is sobbing—why this pain, this affliction? It is for him to open men's eyes to the moral purpose in all wherein the economy of pain has place and for which reason alone it has excuse for appearing. He that can do no more than offer dim consolation of future bliss to atone for present misery is but sadly fulfilling his office. His place it is to know that the only reward for these things lies in the wiser living and thinking which should follow, in that enlightenment and freedom from illusion wherein such affliction is no longer possible. It is for him to prove to men out of his deeper conviction and larger wisdom that all works for good; that aught unmerited can in the nature of things never befall us, nor aught purposeless or unreasonable find place in this wide universe; that Order is fixed and eternal, and not subject to change at the petition of man. But if he can only join with the common lot of men in foolishly praying for some revision of Law he but adds another straw to the camel's back.

Salvation has ever been the preacher's theme. It was the Church that first created a hell, that it might find its mission in the redemption of mankind from this theological pit. But now this hell has somehow faded away, and the Church must find its mission other than this. The age is somewhat too philosophic any longer to consider man in this archaic light. We have discovered it is not the *soul* that needs salvation, and the cat is out of the bag. What then? Why, that we may now discover the God within us and therein be saved from further illusion of outward and personal and historic things; saved from anthropomorphic gods and dying Christs, from

the hell of matter and the hell of ignorance. And pray what else is there to be saved from?

It is often argued that the masses of men are not amenable to philosophic truths; that they must have somewhat suited to their plane of understanding—that is to say, their *misunderstanding*. But it is not so easily argued that there are grounds therein for misleading; that we shall therefore preach to them a god that is not, a heaven that is not, a hell that is not, all because such myths are readily accepted and the false morality of reward and punishment that goes with them is a more or less efficient magistrate. The muezzin preaches a better philosophy from the minarets of Santa Sofia—"There is no God but Allah." The love of God, the necessity of morality which is the token of that love, and heaven or hell shaping itself here and now out of the recognition or disregard of this, is not too transcendental for us: for all facts must go to confirm Truth; but no facts and no experience corroborate a false theology, and hence the present difficulty in persuading men from such a standpoint, unless indeed we let go of Reason and appeal to fear and selfishness with promise of reward and threats of damnation. When we talk against Truth we must use some specious arguments—paint our heavens very rosy, our hells very lurid. See, then, the fallacy of those earnest men who work to revive the dead letter when men are calling for the spirit—calling for the spirit, indeed, now as never before. A good sign of the times this, and he who does not heed must soon direct at empty benches his superannuated discourse.

They who can speak direct from the fountain of Truth are called prophets and need no book; but prophets be few. If the preacher must perforce speak from a book, let him see to it that he knows not one Bible only. There's ample evidence that knowing one is knowing none. His duty it is to con the Avesta, the Upanishad, the Gita. How can he possibly afford to overlook these spiritual storehouses? Will the meditations of Buddha and the wisdom of Lao-tsze avail him nothing? Did Plato utter no truth for him? A to Z: Genesis to Revelation—but there are other alphabets, other revelations. We

aver that we are now well familiar with these ancient Jews, albeit for certain dubious reasons the world thinks none too well of their descendants. Have done, then, with this Jewish history, which entertains us no more than another, and seek and interpret the spiritual message of the Bible that we may have light and may perchance come to a better understanding! If we must preach of the Jews, why not a crusade of kindness and tolerance to the modern Jew? That were more to the point than gilding the bones of his ancestors. Are we antiquarians that we should be so in love with these traditions of the Hebrews? Is that the bread of life, that it is so freely dispensed? Then surely must we starve.

We are weary of Christ crucified, weary of the gospel of Sin and the gospel of Death. Let us have the gospel of Life; let us have the *living* Christ—the virile, potent Truth—if so we are to continue the office. Unless the discourse be tuneful, rhythmic, vibratory, we will have none of it. Unless he can tell us better than we already know it were folly for us to listen. Unless his experience is richer, his insight deeper, his vision clearer, his humanity broader, what can he possibly impart to us? But it is not for him to vibrate for us but to set us vibrating—we are capable of it. That is the good he can do us, and the only good. We are free men and would pray for ourselves—after what manner we deem best. We need no intermediary. Let him make his life an earnest invocation and a joyful one. We say to the preacher: Be thou a free man; walk thou with God, and gladden us with the fruits of such communion. Prove to us that inspiration has not gone out of the world. Live so free that we shall the sooner grow sick of our material slavery. Show us what love, what power, what serenity belongs to the children of God, who shall order their minds and hearts as befits their divine lineage, that we too may aspire and realize. Be thou Moses and the prophets. Be thou sage and seer. Be thou the apostle of the Real. But be thou never a forlorn echo of the times that are gone!

If men choose to make Jesus the sole theme and preach in his name rather than in the name of the Universal, they can-

not but remember that Jesus himself preached in the name of God only. With Jesus, to speak the Word and heal the sick were inseparable, and pertained one as much as the other to the office of the preacher. He who would follow Him must do likewise or he but partly fulfils the office according to that standard. Let him not think to atone for his remissness in healing the sick by any prayers over the dead. Has the Word, then, lost its efficacy, or has the man dwindled in his understanding of the spiritual office? Let him answer who aspires thereto by addressing himself to the philosophy that underlies the work of Jesus.

Again, if he believe the philosophy of Jesus to be impracticable and too transcendental for these times, let him not preach another and lesser in the name of that spiritual truth. If he cannot be dissuaded from preaching war and materialism, let him not do it in the name of Jesus. If Jesus is to be the burden of his preaching he should at least be informed as to the nature of that great man's philosophy. But as a matter of fact he is seldom so informed. It must be evident to the scholar that Jesus reflected in his teaching the mystical philosophy of the East; that he was an Oriental and a mystic—as how should he not be, child of the East that he was: Oriental in his view of life, in his scheme of philosophy, in his imagery, and of a profoundly metaphysical turn of mind? His was a transcendent idealism—himself the Master Idealist. See, then, the absurdity of attempting to Westernize this thought evolved from philosophic and religious meditations in Syrian deserts and engrafting thereon a sort of hard-cider theology and ethics! The scholar knows well enough that the metaphysical East has ever been the cradle of Religion, and from the East the West has borrowed—too busy to evolve its own. The philosopher must reflect upon the tacit acquiescence which the hustling materialistic West has ever given to the dreamy metaphysical East in adopting as it has its idealism—an idealism opposed in every particular to the ideas according to which the West has and does live, but to which it vaguely subscribes in the hope of ultimate salvation. It is, then, the duty of the preacher as

scholar and philosopher to discover the universal element in this Eastern thought which has compelled acceptance of the West, and so to understand and set forth the idealism on which it rests as to induce men to live by the spirit of it in place of merely subscribing to the letter. And so in relation to Jesus—if he cannot see that his life and teaching expressed a perfect idealism as the only basis of life, and if he be not stirred by a similar conviction, how can he say anything in the name of Jesus or do other than belie the truth which the great Galilean lived and worked to make manifest?

These many ages men have suffered and mourned; nor has the mourning of one generation lessened that of the next, but each weeps as though none had wept before. We groan to-day as groaned the Egyptians of the First Dynasty, as men will groan forever and ever—so long as they look without and place their trust in that which is unstable. But always some few are awaking from their illusions, and these in turn set about trying to arouse the rest. So there are far more awakened men to-day than ever there were in Egypt, and the work of arousing the sleepers goes on apace, as always it must go on because of the inherent tendency to Good and the divine ministry of Beauty. Still, humanity is very drowsy—it groans sadly and weeps bitterly and twists and turns in its dream of sense. Speak, then, O Preacher, thou hierophant of the Inmost Beauty. Let the world hear again and again, and be thrilled with some hint of the Life and the Resurrection.

It is for the preacher to proclaim truth on the authority of his own insight and experience. To repeat it on hearsay is nothing. They who groan can do as much. If listening to parrot utterances would dry our tears, men would long since have ceased to weep. Nay, he must not tell us of other men—he must bring us to ourselves, for therein is the resurrection. What can he say of any rebirth if he has not himself experienced it—if he is not reborn, renewed, reclothed with the Spirit? What can he say of Life if he has not come to the consciousness of Life eternal? What can he know of divinity until he has recognized within himself the divine? Nor can

he speak of the Spirit until he has become engrossed in the love of spiritual things.

Preëminently is it his office to offset the pernicious belief that inspiration has ceased to flow to the world—that the book of Truth is closed. And this he can do only by being himself the voice of truth. It is largely because he has become a mere echo that shallow men have concluded inspiration has ceased, and there is nothing left to do but repeat what has already been said. It rests with the preacher to disprove this by his inspired utterance—free and clear as in the morning of the world. He of all men should be the champion of inspiration, for in virtue of this only has the office any good reason for being, and without this he is but a reader. Let him show that Scripture is not all written, nor Truth all revealed. To do this he himself must add some lines.

Above all, let him affirm the true nature and dignity of Man. Here is the key-note of his work—not foolishly to praise God, but to uplift man, who is in need of wisdom to perceive his own true nature. So may he be the means of correcting the silly notion that it is somehow the business of religion to sing the praises of the Almighty, while in our own lives there remain no truth and no freedom worthy of song. But may he get rid of the notion that he is to make us good, or to reform, or convert, or argue! He is to speak truth openly and manfully and kindly, and let Truth convince whomsoever it will, and reform and regenerate where it will; and this to the end that men may become happier because wiser, truer, kindlier. The dignity of Man! Who indeed has ever given voice to this? It is because Jesus has done so in greater measure than another that he has held our attention all these years. It is because of this, too, that pitiful mankind must perforce deify him. He spoke plainly enough; but who can hear him? Our ears are stopped. Let the preacher open them with the thunder of his spiritual message. Of all philosophers the most misunderstood—where is a man can do him justice? Great prophet of the Real—on his rock foundation of metaphysic, as if in irony, the world has blown the veriest bubble of illusion. What absurdities do

we not believe for lack of philosophic culture! Prick the bubble and let us have somewhat real at last.

More than to other men it falls to the preacher to be impersonal to the last degree—to be a tuned instrument upon which the Master Musician shall bring forth harmonies. Let other men scratch and wheeze as they will—he at least must be pure and heaven-inspired. There must be always one Orphean strain in the world. From within, then, must he speak. He must be aware that all virtue is in the Spirit—all life, all power—and himself but the channel. There is his estate; thence must he draw his supply. So may breathe through him the undying Spirit of Truth; so, and so only, may he refresh the world with his message.

What has the preacher indeed to do with self-advancement? He is not here to gain worldly ends. Other men are concerned with these. The need is for some one man in ten thousand that is not. He must be concerned with what he can give and not with what he can get. If he cannot so live let him resign the office and join the ranks of the infidels. The minds of men forever run to diversity; show us one man who shall hold to unity. The world lives to appearances: let us have one office consecrated to reality. Let him be this check on the world's vanity, and in their saner moments men will be grateful. But if he run with the crowd, voice its sentiments, preach war and materialism, he disgraces the office. Do not preach the Church—preach God! Once in a century we have such a man, and he is to us as the sunshine and the voice of the sea. Most men only prattle to us of the institution.

What has he to do with caste and distinctions who should be superior to all castes? Brother of wise men and kings; brother equally to publican and harlot, it is for him to address himself to the Soul and to proclaim Truth to the afflicted consciousness of the world that it may have rest. The office is more than philanthropy: it is more than the filling of men's stomachs and the clothing of their backs. These things are good, but need not the sanction of Religion; nor will they suffice in place of Religion. Men still hunger for spiritual nour-

ishment, and to dispense some crumbs of this is the most memorable aid one man may render to another. Any baker can give them bread if he is so minded, but this finer bread is not to be had so easily; for men have closed their minds and hearts and know not whence it comes. Teach them to look within that they may derive of their own. Here is a ministry of Love to the hearts of men, a ministry of Silence to the buzzing world, a ministry of Wisdom proclaiming the kingdom of heaven to be within—to be the outcome of character and insight; and so is it the noblest service of God because the truest service to man.

In the name of this office the blind have led the blind, and men have not hesitated to follow into the ditch so long as they were being led. But to-day they fight shy of the ditch as never before, and are asking, Which way? Bid them listen to the inner voice. Point the road and give them courage, but be no man's crutch! Rest assured no one ever performed the journey for another. Strange it is that men will do anything rather than *think*. Because of this chronic lethargy, this indisposition to think, it takes a Spartan call to arouse them.

It is mainly the office of the preacher, then, to stimulate and encourage the perceptive faculties that men may come to think for themselves to the ends of regeneration; to sound the one major chord above all this minor wail, the one triumphant march above all these dismal tunes; to chant the psalm of Man the divine, who is great because of love and without love would be as grass; to be the perennial spring of optimistic thought amidst arid worldliness and barren selfishness, that there may the date-palm flourish and the parched traveler be refreshed, and peradventure some bird of passage linger for a day.

Surely here is a ministry of Beauty, O thou of the great heart—the lion heart and the woman soul! Dweller in the “star-lit deserts of Truth,” unto you has fallen the heavenly manna—the bread of Life. With this shall you feed the hungry. For you there is a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night: for you one gleaming star in those silent deserts, for never will the Spirit forsake. Then freely give. Friend of

the poor and friend of the rich, friend of the low and the high,
gather to you the wandering children of man! Lead them to
the Soul, and well may you be called the Elder Brother of the
race.

STANTON KIRKHAM DAVIS.

Pigeon Cove, Mass.

SOME ANCIENT NEW WOMEN.

IT is stated in a current literary periodical that probably more volumes of personal and love letters of prominent men and women have been published in the last three years than during the last three centuries. Publishers cater to the desire of the public to know the minutest details of the lives of its heroes and heroines. As literature, many of these volumes fall so far short of the messages that the authors intended for the public that the more careful reader is disappointed. Their mediocrity is a cold blast. They remind one of Emerson's statement that the only difference between great men and ordinary men is simply the quality that made them great.

But there are volumes of personal letters that are valuable in that they not only reflect a personality of interest but give us pictures of social customs and the history of earlier times. There are two volumes of this kind that have been published a number of years. Probably the sales of both have not been one-tenth as great as those of the recent literary fake, "An Englishwoman's Love Letters." But that is no criterion of worth. They will repay the careful reader. These are the letters of two rather ancient "new women"—Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, of England, and our own Abigail Adams.

Lady Montagu was the contemporary of Pope, Walpole, Addison, and Johnson, and was considered one of the most intellectual women of her time. The letters show her great interest in and knowledge of literature, politics, and society.

Abigail Adams was the wife of John Adams and mother of John Quincy Adams. At Quincy, Mass., the house is still standing where she wrote these charming letters to her husband during the many years he was absent in the service of his country, both as member of the Continental Congress and as Ambassador to France and England. These letters reveal a character of the finest equipoise. They prove her to have been

possessed, not only of a patriotism unexcelled by any of the leading patriots whose words were shaping revolution, but also of the mind of a statesman. She was the confidant and adviser of her husband in many of the knotty problems of the government. She stayed at home, raised the children, managed finances, and directed the farm. She once writes, playfully, "I hope in time to have the reputation of being as good a farmeress as my partner has of being a good statesman."

But Abigail Adams's household duties in those times, when the manufacturing of goods as well as garments was so largely done in the home, in no wise deterred her from studies of politics and statecraft; and it is gratifying to note that her husband appreciates this, and writes (May 27, 1776): "I think you shine as a stateswoman of late as well as a farmeress. Pray, where do you get your maxims of State? They are very apropos." She saw at that day, as most of the men did not, that the watchwords and maxims of the Revolution were broader than their authors realized. She saw that the Constitution was a garment too large for the spirit of the people then living. Indeed, it was made so large that the government hasn't even yet grown into it. She was an ardent woman suffragist. On March 31, 1776, she wrote to John Adams: "I long to hear that you have declared an independency. And by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors." She concludes with words that would make the editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal* turn pale if spoken by a woman to-day: "If particular care and attention be not paid to the ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

Abigail Adams believed in higher education for women and hoped that the new Constitution would "encourage learning and virtue." She said: "If we mean to have heroes, statesmen, and philosophers, we should have learned women." She was a most loyal patriot, and, though called upon to make unusual sacrifices, yet she declares: "I would not exchange my

country for the wealth of the Indies, or be any other than an American though I might be queen or empress of any nation upon the globe." The whole tone of her letters is cheery, bright, and wholesome, showing a mind thoroughly alive and comprehensive and a heart gentle and loving. Some of the passages may be compared favorably with the loftiest strains in the love-letters recently presented to the public. October 25, 1777, she writes: "This day, dearest of friends, completes thirteen years since we were solemnly united in wedlock. Three years of this time we have been cruelly separated. I have, patiently as I could, endured it, with the belief that you were serving your country and rendering your fellow-creatures essential benefits." Again in 1782, when John Adams was a foreign ambassador, she voices the almost pitiful yearning of many wives of illustrious men: "I recollect the untitled man to whom I gave my heart, and wish he had never been any other. Who shall give me back time? Who shall compensate to me those years I cannot recall? How dearly have I paid for a titled husband! Should I wish you less wise that I might enjoy more happiness? I cannot find that in my heart."

Both Lady Mary Montagu and Abigail Adams were "new" women intellectually, but the English lady had no such conception of liberty and the principles of a true government as the busy, versatile American patriot. Each had a lively sense of humor, and each one recounts in a letter an episode of "new womanism" that plainly exceeded the limit of what they deemed proper, although we can fairly hear their ringing laughter.

We hear much even yet from certain quarters of the "forwardness" of modern women, and of the ancient models of propriety who forsooth did not meddle in politics nor bother their pretty heads about public questions. Let those who sigh for good old times, when women were ever womanly, listen to this story, which Lady Mary Montagu writes to one of her friends in 1739—before the miasma of Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone arose! Her own account is so racy that it may best be quoted. She says:

"At the last warm debate in the House of Lords, it was unanimously resolved that there should be no crowd of unnecessary auditors; consequently, the fair sex were excluded and the gallery destined to the sole use of the House of Commons. Notwithstanding this determination a tribe of dames resolved to show on this occasion that neither men nor laws could resist them. These heroines were Lady Huntington, the Duchess of Queensberry, the Duchess of Ancaster, Lady Westmoreland, Lady Cobham, Lady Charlotte Edwin, Lady Archibald Hamilton and her daughter, Mrs. Scott, and Mrs. Pendarves and Lady Frances Saunderson. They presented themselves at the door at nine o'clock in the morning, where Sir Wm. Saunderson respectfully informed them the Chancellor had made an order against their admittance. The Duchess of Queensberry, as head of the squadron, pushed at the ill breeding of a mere lawyer and desired him to let them upstairs privately. After some modest refusals, he swore he would not let them in.

"Her Grace, with a noble warmth, answered that they would come in in spite of the Chancellor and the whole House. This being reported, the peers resolved to starve them out; an order was made that the doors should not be opened till they raised their siege. These Amazons now showed themselves qualified for even the duty of foot-soldiers; they stood there till five in the afternoon, without sustenance, every now and then playing volleys of thumps, kicks, and raps against the door with so much violence that the speakers of the House were scarce heard.

"When the Lords were not to be conquered by this, the two duchesses (very well apprized of the use of stratagems in war) commanded a dead silence of half an hour; and the Chancellor, who thought this a certain proof of their absence, gave order for the opening of the door, upon which they all rushed in, pushed aside their competitors, and placed themselves in the front rows of the gallery. They stayed there till after eleven, when the House rose; and during debate gave applause and showed marks of dislike not only by smiles and winks (which have always been allowed in these cases) but by noisy laughs and apparent contempts—which is supposed to be the true reason why Lord Hervey spoke miserably."

In comparison with these women, the boldest woman suffragists of to-day are as delicate orchids and modest violets.

An onslaught scarcely less bold and determined is chronicled

by Abigail Adams of some Boston women over a century ago. The cause of their attack, however, was more material than politics and more substantial than parliamentary oratory, and the actors were more plebeian than the titled ladies who were so much interested in politics.

It seems that during the Revolutionary war there was a great scarcity of sugar and coffee. It was discovered that this scarcity was partly occasioned by the merchants' having secreted a large quantity, taking from it small measures to be sold at exorbitant prices. One of these merchants, described as an "eminent, wealthy, stingy bachelor," had a hogshead of coffee in his store that he refused to sell for less than six shillings a pound.

"A number of females, some say a hundred, some say more, assembled with carts and trucks, marched down to the warehouse, and demanded the keys, which he refused to deliver; upon which one seized him by the neck and threw him into the cart. Upon his finding no quarter he delivered the keys, when they tipped up the cart and discharged him, then opened the warehouse, hoisted out the coffee themselves, put it into the cart, and drove off."

She naively adds that a large concourse of men stood amazed—silent spectators of the whole transaction. But no doubt they helped consume the trophies so valiantly won by these prototypes of Tom Grogan.

When one thinks of the repression of the women of their time and the customs by which they were hedged, there is an exhilaration in reading of these self-reliant dames as from a salt-sea breeze.

Lady Mary Montagu introduced vaccination into England as a preventive of smallpox, and suffered greatly for her public spirit. But it was several decades after Lady Montagu's time that Harriet Hosmer, finding in herself the soul of an artist and wishing to study anatomy to fit herself for her work, was refused admittance by every medical college in the New England and Middle States. It was a century afterward that Elizabeth Blackwell began the study of medicine—and the

women at her boarding-house refused to speak to her. It was more than half a century after Abigail Adams wrote of these aggressive Bostonians that Lucretia Mott and Abby Kelly were treated to mob violence while speaking for the freedom of the slave, and Susan B. Anthony shocked the world by arising to speak on a topic being discussed at a teachers' meeting. It was years after these times that wives were advertised for sale in English newspapers. It was decades after these exhibitions of nerve and muscle that a woman exhibited some anatomical charts and a manikin in a lecture on health, and most of the women present fainted dead away.

A pendulum drawn back describes a great arc to an opposite extreme, then gradually returns to normal. Every age has had its exceptional women, who have gleamed like meteors in an ebon sky. There have always been the daring and unconventional, who have snapped the cords of custom. One cannot wonder that there were so few, but rather that there were so many, willing to suffer the martyrdom that inevitably followed. But we do not sigh for these strong souls that broke the bonds and soared as high as clipped wings could carry them. It is rather for the mass of ancient women in whose veins coursed the blood of conquerors, who, too, had visions of hill-tops and pure ether but who could only beat helplessly against their cages. For these we sigh. As Tennyson says—

"I envy not in any mood
A captive void of noble rage,"

—and the most pathetic phase of a subject class is that the majority sinks into a complacent lethargy. But, "though the mills of the gods grind slowly," there is hope in the fact that they *do* grind.

The emancipation of woman progresses as an incoming tide: it advances and retreats. But every advance is a little farther and every retreat not quite so far. The net result is a steady gain.

ELLA SEASS STEWART.

Chicago, Ill.

ON THE STOA OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

WHY THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD OWN THE TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE.

BY JUSTICE WALTER CLARK, LL.D.*

Q. Do you believe that the telegraph and telephone properly belong to the post-office system?

A. Unquestionably.

Q. Would the acquiring of these two great natural monopolies be likely to increase the net expenses—and therefore require additional appropriations for their successful operation—or would they be likely to prove a source of profit to the post-office department?

A. A source of profit. They have been mines of wealth to the present operators.

Q. What advantage would the public derive from the incorporation of the telegraph and telephone into the post-office department?

A. Lower rates, more considerate management, the elimination of a great private monopoly, which is in league and sympathy with all other trusts.

Q. Would their purchase and the incorporation of them into the post-office department be constitutional?

A. Yes. Their operation by private ownership is unconstitutional.

* NOTE.—In view of the growing interest in the question of governmental ownership of the telegraph and telephone, we this month present, "On the Stoa of the Twentieth Century," a few replies by Justice Walter Clark, LL.D., to pertinent questions on this subject. Justice Clark has for twelve years been and still is Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina. He is one of the ablest jurists of the South, and has given much consideration to the subject of governmental ownership of these important means of communication. Hence, his views are of special value.—B. O. F.

Q. Has the governmental ownership of the telegraph and telephone in other countries proved a source of revenue to the respective governments?

A. Yes.

Q. How do the telegraph rates in foreign countries—England, for example—compare with our own?

A. The rate in England is sixpence, *i.e.*, twelve cents; in Belgium and France, ten cents. Telephones in Switzerland are, I believe, \$6 per year. With the recent great improvements, experts say that this government could operate the telegraph at a profit on a rate of five cents per message and rent telephones at \$6 per year.

THE CRIMINAL NEGRO.

VIII. ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES.

THE third group of facts includes those not easily placed in either of the preceding classes, for they are the more general influences. The results for *diseases* do not show the prevalence of any one malady, but rather indicate that which the individual has withstood. Their economic significance lies in the manner and degree to which they affect capacity for labor, financial returns, etc. Their social significance lies in the revelation of social conditions and how they affect the individual's adjustment to social requirements. The diseases included the following: measles, 67; whooping-cough, 48; mumps, 37; chicken-pox, 22; and adult diseases—fevers, 33; malaria, 31; pneumonia and lung trouble, 26; neuralgia, 25; organic diseases, 25; rheumatism, 22; la grippe, 13; yellow fever and epilepsy, each 5; scrofula and small-pox, each 4. Pneumonia, rheumatism, and neuralgia are often due to the conditions under which the subjects labor in the prisons. Fevers, smallpox, and other virulent diseases are so often fatal that few have withstood them.

In connection with diseases, the *accidents* are of interest: one-third had scars from injuries received in fighting or in punishment; 12 had evidences of being struck; bruises, 8; broken bones, shooting, and injuries from falls, 7 each; dislocations, bites, and stabs, 4 each; sprains, 2. Eighteen claimed no serious injuries. Women imprisoned under the lease system bear the marks of brutal treatment.

The amount of criminality and insanity within the family are questions that bear directly upon heredity. The data were largely unobtainable, because family ties were loose and intercourse with relatives was often cut off. The records show that 12 of the subjects had insane relatives and 27 had criminal relatives. The nature of the insanity was not known, and

the crimes included such as: murder, theft, arson, rape, and assault. Insanity is certainly increasing among the negroes. Some of the causes are: closer competition in labor, insufficient physical care, and increased responsibilities. Their form of religion is also conducive to fanaticism and hallucinations.

Fears and superstitions are difficult subjects upon which to secure data because of their close relation to religion. In fear, each subject was requested to name the things she was most afraid of. Usually the number was limited to two. Only six admitted no fear, and these replies were due more to a desire to display bravado than to tell the truth. The results for the others are: snakes, 22; dying, 19; animals and whipping, 10 each; eternal punishment, 9; the dark, 8; God, 7; being killed, fighting, or losing good time in prison, 6 each; bad neighbors, 5; smallpox, water, gossip, fire, drowning, and ghosts, 2 each. Some of the reasons given were: "Fear God because He has power and sees all the time;" "fear death 'cause ain't ready;" "fears neighbors 'cause put me here." A great part of their fear has for its purpose the preservation of life, and the remainder avoidance of pain—both characteristic of lower orders of life.

The superstitions are of the same grade as the fears, and are those of a people of unorganized social and industrial life. Eighteen declared they did not believe in them, and the younger generation seems less tenacious of the traditions and omens; 54 believed in dreams, 20 in physical signs, 12 in ghosts, 6 in conjuring, and 3 in signs of Nature. Illustrations of the dreams are "belief that they will come true," "spirits in dreams," and such omens as "dream of the dead it always rains." Physical signs were such as: "itching of the hand, will get money;" "burning of the ear indicates gossip," a "jumping eye means bad trouble." Signs of Nature are such as: "God talks in thunder and lightning," and signs of rain—as the "moon holding water." In conjuring they were afraid of hoodoos, and wore charms to prevent such a disaster. These were such as small bags filled with ground-up snake-skins, seeds, shells, etc., hung about the neck, or a string with

money on it tied about the ankle. Various kinds of stones were carried to prevent diseases and disasters, and it was considered a bad omen to lose them.

Although these convicts had been regular church attendants, that did not necessarily mean they "had religion," or had adopted a consistent moral code. Some of the criminals attended in the hope of getting religion; others were so blessed; still others went there to have a good time, as it was their chief social function. About 95 per cent. of the parents of the criminals attended church, but, out of the 90 measured, less than one-half were church-members. Sunday-schools were attended by all but seven, but the periods of attendance were so irregular that their influence could not be estimated. The reasons given for not joining the church were such as: "Tried but never did get religion," "on probation," "too liberal," "wanted to enjoy myself," "was wild and foolish."

Under the facts of *nativity* there are but few of importance. It is difficult to secure pure negro types, even in the black belt. Indian and white blood are freely mixed. The migratory spirit among the negroes is not extensive, which may partly account for the fact that there is no "tramp" class among them. Four-fifths of the negroes studied had never been out of the States in which they were born, and they showed the most amusing ignorance of places and distances. In the South, there is no problem of interstate migration of criminals.

The average age of offenders against person was 27 years, and of offenders against property 24 years. No reliance can be placed upon these facts, because the subjects were often ignorant of the time and place of birth, had been in prison a long time, and had lost count of the years or had wilfully deceived in their answers.

An interesting series of data is that obtained from their *wishes*. Each subject was requested to make three wishes, excluding that of release from prison. These wishes can, with few exceptions, be grouped under four heads: physical desires, those relating to future plans, social desires, and religious and ethical hopes. The first group included a small

number: for clothes, 7; money and food, 3 each. The second class included: good places to work, 12; long life, 7; good home and good luck, 6 each. The third class was the largest: desire to see relatives, 47; for letters and to be happy, 4 each; for a good time and for visits, 2 each; for sympathy, 1. Mothers and children were the relatives most wished for. The explanation of this large number lies in the fact of their imprisonment. The religious desires were: to "get religion," 26; to go to heaven, 8; ethical desires, 24. Illustrations of the last are such as: "wish to tell the truth," "treat mother right," "do right here," "have honor," "be polite." Among these wishes are found regrets for past conduct. As compared with white criminals, the negroes place emphasis upon the social and religious desires, while the whites show a larger percentage of physical desires. The whites express cynicism rather than pronounced religious emotions. The wishes of the negroes are more elementary. Trivial things are often chosen, and, like the whites, their interest is in the present. They reveal a closer domestic unity than exists among the white criminals. It was impossible to secure the letters written to relatives and friends by the negroes, for the purpose of comparison with those of the whites, for the former are seldom furnished materials and in only a few instances can they write. These letters are of value in revealing the emotions, wants, desires, and the use of things; and, being purely spontaneous, they are trustworthy.

There are a few facts of interest pertaining to the married criminals. For the offenders against person, who come more largely from the rural districts, 22 were married and 20 unmarried. Of the former, 7 were divorced and 5 were widowed. The number of years married averaged 13, and the average age at marriage was 16 years. A number admitted that they were living conjugally without the marriage ceremony. The grounds for divorce were abuse and adultery. Of the 22 married, two-thirds assisted in supporting the family. Their husbands were almost invariably unskilled laborers; 15 had bad habits, and 8 had no education whatever.

Among the offenders against property, a smaller percentage were married—16 out of 38; but a greater number had formed illegal unions. The percentage of divorces granted was one-third. The average number of years of married life and age at marriage were the same as for offenders against persons. Three-fourths assisted in supporting the family. Of the husbands, three were skilled laborers, six had bad habits, and three were illiterate.

These facts are suggestive. The women committing crime were for the greater part dependent upon themselves or had others depending upon their efforts. The protection that matrimony offers in the seclusion of the home was thus partly removed in the case of women assisting in supporting the family and wholly removed in the case of unmarried women. The fact that divorces were granted on the ground of adultery shows that there is developing a family morality unknown in the slave families. The conditions revealed by these facts show that the married women were but little favored by improvement in their environment. All the sociologic factors considered show that the environment of these criminals has not been favorable to the increase of morality or decrease in crime. Whatever may be due to racial traits and limited capacity, the environment has not been sufficiently favorable to demonstrate that these may not to a great degree be overcome.

There are some interesting distinctions between negro and white criminals that are closely related to environment. The crimes of the negroes are not different from those of the whites, but their manner of commission varies. A close analysis of records shows that even in rape the whites are quite as numerous, though not so conspicuous, as are the negroes. The negroes' crimes are simpler in execution. They are more often the result of uncontrolled impulse than of deliberate planning and patience in execution. Frequently the effect is not foreseen. A race having such low racial standards, in the sense that there is but little conscious pride in them, is not as inherently criminal as a race whose members deteriorate from higher ideals. They may be more primitive, more barbarous, but

crime implies a departure from a standard within the conscious grasp of the persons who have passed the laws making it such. The negroes have attempted to adopt the laws of a race far in advance, rather than through the slow process of working it out from their own experience and compass.

There are few professional criminals, and officers agree that the most refractory convicts are not the negroes, but mulattos and others of mixed blood. The negro race has notorious criminals, but no truly "great" ones. The nature of a crime may render a criminal notorious, but a great criminal is skilful in execution and a genius in planning—as was Holmes. Many negroes are notorious thieves, but they remain years in stockades that would not hold a Northern safe-cracker twenty-four hours. There are no organizations among negro criminals. At times during carousals they commit crimes in unison, but they rarely have a chief or form a gang who work together for common profit. The arts, speech, and methods of communication so fully developed among white criminals exist in only a limited way. Some of the reasons for this lack of organized crime are: deficient power of organization, limited mechanical skill, intellectual shortcomings, lack of knowledge of social organization, and difficulties in the way of travel. The wealth in the North is represented by more cash and merchandise and is a ready prey to such organized gangs, while in the South this has hitherto not been so. The small communities and familiarity of one person with another would render the operations of such a gang difficult.

The statement is often seen that crime has increased among the negroes since the war. That is a matter of no surprise because increased freedom of an ignorant people invariably means increased violations of law. In the second place, acts sanctioned in slavery, as adultery and small thefts, were not then considered as crimes. Third, there were no records kept before the war, so no close comparisons are possible. Fourth, since the freeing of the negro penalties for certain crimes have been increased. There are no agencies in the South for reforming criminals and wayward children are not protected,

as in the North. For these reasons increase of crime does not mean deterioration of the race, but is one phase of its attempt to meet new conditions and *external* forces. In the North, crime is increasing among the negroes, but there also they are meeting a most complex and advanced civilization for which they have had but slight preparation.

A more exhaustive study of criminality, carried out along lines some of which have been indicated in the preceding articles, would tend to lead to conclusions having this import:

1. Climate, soil, food, and economic and social conditions are essential elements in any study of criminality—and by "social conditions" are meant all environmental factors. Until these influences are estimated and measures are based upon the recognition of them, no great reduction in the amount of crime can be anticipated. With reference to these, the negro is more disadvantageously placed than is any other class in America.

2. The laws and penal institutions in the South are not conducted with a view to decreasing crime, but to care for the prisoner and secure revenue. Preventive measures, especially with reference to children, are just finding a place. Experience has shown that the institutional system is of great importance in both prevention and reformation.

3. The measurements and tests made upon a limited number do not reveal physical and mental conditions that should discourage efforts in education and development.

4. The environment in the South is favorable to the commission of crime by negroes. It is impossible to estimate the persistency of racial traits or of the limitations, mental or physical, imposed by racial development, until a parallel environment is removed; that is, the environment must be shown to be of such a nature that it offers every opportunity for development and improvement. In no phase of the negroes' life—domestic, social, industrial, political, or religious—does this appear to be the case.

FRANCES A. KELLOR.

The University of Chicago.

WHEN OLE MARSTER PASSED AWAY.

A NEGRO CHARACTER SKETCH.

BY WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

"Ole Marse been daid heap o' years now."

The old black face grew grave, as did the face of the listener. He was a young man then, or rather a boy, and was following Lee in Virginia, as most Southern boys were doing. The passing of the old Master was to him a tale told by another; to the negro it was a sweet and tender memory.

"I ricermember," said he, "de mornin' he died. Seem lack hit aint no more'n yistiddy, lookin' at hit *one* way. Lookin' tudder seem lack a mighty heap o' years, it do. I reckon you aint ricermember ole Silas? 'Unc' Si,' you-all chillen useter call him; Unc' Si what useter raise de chune et all de meetin's fur we-all. Un' Peter, he lead de pra'r allus, but Unc' Silas raised de chunes.

"En sholy dat nigger c'u'd sing. You c'u'd hyar him in de fiel', strippin' fodder, en des a-singin' lack he boun' ter bust out shoutin' ebery blessed minute. En goin' home ebenin's, 'long side de mules,—ca'se Silas wuz a preacher en he wont ride de mules, ca'se he sez dey done wucked 'nuff in de fiel' alraidy.

"So he tromped on 'long side dey-all, singin' low en sweet lack, wid de chains en de gear sort o' jinglin' en makin' a sort o' music too. Seem lack hit might be little bells ringin' low en sassy lack, to ole Silas' singin'.

"En de song he allus sung dem times wuz de song 'bout 'I would not lib al'ays.' En hit seem lack he des allus reach de end o' de journey en de end o' de song et de same time; fur des ez he 'ud sing out:

" 'Dere sweet be my res' twell He bid me erise,
Ter hail Him in glory descendin' de skyies,'—

de mules 'ud retch de trough, hot en tired, en drap de nozzles inter de cool, clear water, en de day's wuck wuz done.

"But hit 'uz Sunday ebenin's, et de em'ty gin-house, dat Silas done 'is bes' singin'. He'd sholy sing den; en Pete he'd lead de pra'r, en de moaners dey'd wrastle, en de ole folks shout. But 'bove hit all yer c'u'd hyar Unc' Si's voice fa'rly ringin' out acrost de fiel's en de meader, plumb up ter de gre't house, whar Ole Marster wuz settin' on de back po'ch, smokin' his pipe, wid de bees hummin' in de Cherokee roses, en de ole dorg 'sleep et his feet:

"'I would not lib al'ays; I ax not ter stay.'

"Onc't Marster tuk Silas up on dat song. He say: 'What mek yer lack dat song so well, Silas? Yer knows dey aint a word o' troof in hit. Yer knows yer wants ter lib ez long ez yer kin, yer black raskil; en ef yer knowed yer gwine die dis night, yer'd be de wust skeered nigger on dis plantation, I bets yer would. Don't eber-body want ter lib, Si?'

"En Ole Marse des shake his sides a-laffin'.

"But Unc' Si, he sez, 'Hit do look lack dat's a fac' sometimes,' sez he. 'But hit's mos'ly while we's young en keerless, en easy content; when de sun shines on de meader whar de lil'l lambs is friskin', or de cotton bolls is bustin', en de mockin' birds nestin' in de honeysuckle bushes; en dar's dem what we lub trompin' 'long side us down de cotton row, or sleepin' 'long side us in de cabin nights when de moon shines on de ribber, en de stars shine. Den it do look lack we des 'bleeged ter stay on here fureber. But when de sorrer en de shadder come, den we think diffe'ent. De sun goes onder er cloud, en de cotton ez all in, en de fiel's brown en lonesome, en de one what tromped de furrers wid us ez done gone; de piller nex' our'n ez em'ty; en we don't hyar de mockin' bird in de bushes. Only de ribber 'mongst de gray rocks, moanin', or de whipperwill callin' lonesome lack in de night time. Den we knows we don't want ter stay; en dat's huccome I sing lack I do, "I would not lib al'ays," count o' de sorrer en de shadder.'

"Dat's what Unc' Si say. En hit sholy seem to come ter pass des dat way wid Ole Marse.

"De war, hit come long pritty soon arter dat; en de Yankees dey swep' froo de plantation, en bu'nt de barns, en de gin-houses, en tuck de corn fur dey horses, en de wheat fur deyse'ves, en bruk up what dey-all c'u'dn't eat up—dey sho' did. Dem wuz sholy scan'lous doin's.

"En de boys, dey wuz all in de army—you, en Marse Phil, en Marse Joe, en lil' Marse Tom. En de Yankees, dey wuz camped all 'roun' de town. We c'u'd see de tents fum de top o' de Knob behin' de house, tudder side de meader.

"I tell yer, Ole Marse's spirit 'uz bruk, sho's you bawn. He e'nmost furgit how ter cus; he's des down in de low groun' o' sorre'r all de time.

"At las' one day word come dat de boys 'uz daid—de las' one ob 'em kilt, sah, but des you, what 'uz nex' ter de baby. Wal, sah, dat clar finish him. He tuk ter 'is baid, en he aint nebber leabe it no mo'.

"En den, sah, fust thing yer know, word come down ter de quarters dat Ole Marse wuz dyin'. All de niggers lit out straight fur de house; ca'se we aint thinkin' 'bout freedom, en sech—we's des thinkin' 'bout de white folks up dar, wid nothin' sca'cely ter eat, en Old Marse dyin'.

"Hit 'uz Sundy mornin'—en de chu'ch bells 'uz ringin' in de town. De soun' ob 'em come des a tinklin' soft en low ober de hills en de ribber, ter de plantation, fur de win' wuz blowin' dat way, ter fetch de soun'. Someun opened de do' o' de house, en Marster caught de soun' o' de bells.

"He listen a minute, en den he say: 'Is dat Silas singin'? Sing louder, Si.'

"En Unc' Silas hyared him call 'is name, en he drap 'is ole hat on de do'step, en go up ter de do'. Ole Mis see him dar, en sez she: 'Come in, Silas, ef yer want ter; but he wont know yer.'

"En ez Unc' Si went in Ole Marster say, 'Why *don't* dat nigger sing louder?'

"En den Unc' Si he des fol' his han's on de foot-railin' ob de baid, en begin ter sing:

*"'I would not lib a'ays, I ask not ter stay,
Wher storm after storm rises dark on de way.'*

"En when he's des 'bout half froo Ole Marse say, 'When de sorrer en de shadder come, den hit's diffe'nt—aint hit, Si?'

"But Unc' Si c'u'dn't speak; he des sing on:

*"'I would not lib a'ays, no, welcome de tomb.
Sence Jesus is laid dar, I fear not de gloom.'*

"En Ole Marster lif' up 'is hand, en say, slow en sof', 'I fear—not—de—gloom.'

"En wid dat he wuz gone. En dat fool nigger, 'stid o' comin' on out o' dar, des lif' up 'is voice en sing, same lack hit 'uz a camp-meetin' he 'uz tendin':

*"'Dar sweet be my res' twell He bid me erise,
Ter hail Him in triumph descendin' de skyies.'*

"En his voice hit ring out like de bugle in de Yankee camp in de mornin'.

"But when he come out, we see Unc' Si's face, en hit 'uz dat light en shinin' we knowed he'd been wid Ole Marse plumb ter de trough whar de wuck am done. We knowed hit 'fore he looked at we-all en said, 'Ole Marster's gone home, boys.'

"En de sun kep' on shinin' on de meader, en de grass wuz green en de low groun', en de light danced on de ribber, en de tops o' de white tents ob de army wuz shinin' in de valley, en dar wuzn't no soun' but des a mockin' bird in a rose-bush, en Ole Mis cryin' low en lonesome in her chamber. En dat song o' Unc' Si's wuz Ole Marster's funeral hymn.

"En dat's huccome I say when a man's young en vig'ous, en happiness tromps by his side down de furrers ob life, he aint 'spected ter be glumsome en keerful. En when de fiel' han's gits contrary, en de plow mules fractious, en de rain spiles de crap, en de storm twists off de cotton bolls 'fore dey's fulled, en he ketches de measles in 'is ole age, hit's natchel fur him ter cuss too. But when de shadder en de sorrer come, hit's diffe'nt, ez Unc' Si said."

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

THE ASSASSINATION OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE AFTERMATH.

I. THE MAGNITUDE OF THE CRIME.

The assassination of President McKinley was a great tragedy, well calculated to arouse sentiments of horror in every well-balanced mind. It was an outrage unrelieved by extenuating circumstances, and, being committed against the chosen head of the government, was a crime against the Republic; while to the philosophic student of history the tragedy takes on still darker hues when he contemplates its evil effect on the cause of free government, wholesome liberty, and human progress, for it is difficult to conceive of anything better calculated to aid and reenforce those despotic and reactionary influences that for centuries prior to the American Revolution had prevailed and resulted in civilization-wide oppression and the virtual serfdom of the vast majority of lives throughout the Christian world, while thwarting justice and barring the path of progress and enlightenment.

If Emma Goldman had been the paid emissary of Russian despotism, she could not better have aided the cause of absolutism and oppression than by inciting the feverish, ill-balanced brain of the assassin to commit the crime for which he well knew his life must pay the penalty. They who preach or advocate assassination are the most efficient allies of despotism. They afford the reactionaries, and those who for selfish motives desire oppression and subversive legislation, a justification for proposed laws that would soon be used to bulwark tyranny, injustice, and class interests, and which are in the nature of the case essentially destructive to the spirit of free government. We not only hold that murder is never justifiable, but such is our view of the sanctity of human life that, while yielding to no one in our demand that society

should be protected from its enemies, we believe that the State itself is not justified in taking life. We would imprison or deport the criminal, employing such means as would thoroughly protect the public from his power to do it harm, but with Victor Hugo we hold that "life belongs to God alone," and that neither the individual nor the State has the moral right to take life.

In the murder of President McKinley the American people were robbed of the Executive of their choice, and society beheld stricken down a man that in his private life was a splendid illustration of the best side of Anglo-Saxon civilization—clean, tender, thoughtful, and loving; such was the husband and father. Indeed, the unfailing fidelity and unforgetting love that William McKinley bore to his wife will ever be a priceless and helpful influence among us, and we believe that this sweet and simple devotion more than aught else touched the deepest and holiest emotions of our people and awakened an intense affection for the Chief Magistrate. His tragic death in the midst of a time of national prosperity and victory has exalted his place in history and materially enhanced his fame.

II. HYSTERIA AND INTEMPERANCE IN PULPIT AND PRESS.

There are several things connected with the assassination of the President, quite apart from the crime itself, that are well calculated to disquiet the sober-minded lover of free government, not the least of which is the symptom of degeneracy and widespread hysteria among men who assume to be leaders of thought and molders of public opinion. It has long been one of the chief glories of the Anglo-Saxon people that in trying moments and periods of excitement they have been able to remain sane, dispassionate, and for the most part just. They have never permitted passion and prejudice to blind reason or lead them into unseemly displays of hysteria and intemperance of speech unworthy of enlightened minds. But unhappily the tragedy at Buffalo has called forth from ministers and editors, and in a few instances from statesmen, a number of foolish, irrational, and essentially lawless expressions that must be deplored by all right-thinking individuals. In Concord, New Hampshire, a clergyman, impiously assuming to speak for the Almighty, claimed that the President's death was punishment sent by God because he had not suppressed the rum traffic in the Philippines. One of the gravest offenses against truth, decency, and common sense was perpetrated by certain promi-

nent clergymen in New York and Boston, who chose the hour when even politicians shrank from expressing partizan opinions to assail the wise and well-considered utterances of such men as Professor Charles Eliot Norton, of Harvard University, and ex-Governor Boutwell, of Massachusetts. The intimation that the just and statesmanlike criticisms of these great and revered patriots were in any way responsible for the insane deed of Czolgosz was as wide of the truth as were the ill-timed utterances of the reverend gentlemen unworthy of their high calling. Other statements from the pulpit were scarcely less amazing and even more lawless in spirit. Of these the following extracts from a New York despatch to the *Boston Herald* of September 4th are fair samples:

At the Westminster Presbyterian Church the Rev. John Lloyd Lee said: "There is no standing room in this country for such an assassin. Only a two-by-four cell should hold him. There must be severe measures meted out, or this will happen again and again. Until a better way is found the only way now at hand is to lynch him on the spot."

The Rev. T. De Witt Talmage said at Ocean Grove auditorium: "I wish with all my heart that the policeman who arrested Czolgosz had with the butt end of that pistol dashed his life out."

III. ILLOGICAL AND REACTIONARY CONCLUSIONS OF THE PRESS.

The sensational press indulged in many wild and intemperate utterances, well calculated to inflame the passions and blind the reason of its readers—utterances that all sane people in cooler moments must regard as discreditable to one of the noblest professions of our time. A labored effort has been made to prove that the assassin was the instrument of an organization which acted in furthering a gigantic plot. On this and other baseless assumptions labored arguments against the fundamental principles and the uninterrupted policy of the Republic have been advanced in the interest of methods that prevail in Russia and Spain. We have been assured that the President's assassination demonstrated the necessity of our country employing European Continental methods for the suppression of anarchy, and great stress has been laid upon the fact that three Presidents have been assassinated, from which the reader has been led to understand that anarchy is more dangerous in a free republic than in an Old-World despotism, and consequently the methods of absolutism are not only justifiable but demanded. Yet in point of truth the facts involved

prove precisely the reverse of what has been so persistently claimed, as will be obvious from a glance at recent history.

The assassination of President Lincoln was the deed of a highly-wrought man, at a time of unprecedented excitement—a time when the passions of men had risen to white heat, and when man had become all too familiar with the slaughter of his fellow-men. The assassin knew nothing of the political or economic theories of nihilism or revolutionary anarchy, nor was his deed the result of any Old-World philosophy. The assassin of President Garfield was a disgruntled office-seeker who belonged to the President's own party. He was by affiliation a Republican and not an anarchist. To class John Wilkes Booth and Charles Guiteau as anarchists, or to try to liken their motives to those that in recent years have led to the political assassinations of European rulers, or to the recent murder of President McKinley, is either absurd or dishonest. But one assassination has had anything to do with foreign social and economic theories that are the legitimate products of despotic oppression and injustice.

IV. ANARCHY NOT THE CHILD OF FREEDOM.

In England, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States we find the greatest freedom and the widest liberty of press, speech, and thought. Now, in all these lands during the last century and a quarter—or since the birth of our Republic—there has been but one ruler killed as a result of the false theories and the dangerous doctrines of the revolutionary anarchists; while in France, where there exists an elaborate and in many ways exceedingly objectionable police system, which is the legacy of imperialism but which certain reactionaries and monarchists in our own land are advocating as a model for this country, we find President Carnot assassinated. There an irksome police system, only second to that of Russia in its power, was as futile as was the body-guard of secret service men in our own country to stay the murderous intent of the assassin.

In Spain, where anarchy is a crime and where anarchists had previously been horribly tortured—tortured in such a way as to remind one of the most bloody days of the Inquisition—we find the great prime minister (the real head of the government) assassinated; and furthermore, it is said that to-day Spain is literally honeycombed with anarchy, the savage perse-

cution only resulting, as is usually the case with persecution, in a rapid spread of the banned theories.

In Italy, where the most stringent methods had been taken to crush anarchy, and when the hand of government had fallen heavily even upon the starving ones who had headed the bread riots, the king, in spite of soldiers, detectives, police, and body-guard, was assassinated.

In Russia the most frightful and oppressive of despotisms was powerless to save the Czar. All history proves that it is in the land of despotism that the child of oppression—anarchy—best flourishes. Neither the suppression of free speech, with the blighting curse of despotism that always follows in its wake, nor a land filled with spies and paid informers, bristling with soldiers and burdened by an enormous police force, has been able to save Russia, Austria, Spain, France, or Italy from the hands of anarchistic assassins.

V. GENERATIONS OF OPPRESSION BEHIND THE HAND OF EVERY ANARCHISTIC ASSASSIN.

One great vital fact has been entirely overlooked by the short-sighted and essentially superficial advocates of the extension of police power and the introduction into our land of the ancient governmental despotic censorship, such as still prevails in Russia and Spain; and this ignored fact, which is as fundamental to the issue as is a premise to an argument, is that all the anarchistic and nihilistic assassins, whether in France, Austria, Spain, Italy, Russia, or the United States, are the result of generations of crushing oppression and of the very restrictions that certain editors, politicians, and reactionaries are advocating for our own country. In every instance the assassin has been the product of generations of despotism. Even Czolgosz, American born though he be, is of a Russian or Polish family who have come so little under the American spirit that it is stated that the parents have never learned to speak our language. Behind the hand that held the fatal pistol were centuries of injustice and oppression.

For America to turn her back upon the great principle of freedom which is to-day the crowning glory of the Anglo-Saxon world, and to imitate Continental despotisms, under the mistaken belief that freedom is more dangerous than despotism, would be not only to display ignorance of the history of the past and of the facts involved, but to stultify herself and

to commit a crime of measureless proportions. No doubt some measures will be passed with a view to guarding against political assassinations in the future, but it is to be hoped that the drafting of such measures will be intrusted to the wisest, most thoughtful, and most truly democratic among our statesmen, in order that they may be so framed as to render it impossible for the laws to be made instruments of oppression in the hands of officialism, or that they should be so drafted as to prevent that publicity and free discussion which are all-important for the preservation of free institutions and the crushing of corruption.

VI. SANE AND SAGE WORDS RELATING TO THE TRUE REMEDY FOR ANARCHY.

It is reassuring to find that, while many clergymen vied with sensational newspapers in advocating the introduction of Old-World despotic measures and in inflaming the public mind, there were many notable and conspicuous exceptions to the rule, among the most noteworthy of which were the utterances of the eminent head of the Episcopal Church in America, Bishop Henry C. Potter, and Dr. Washburn, who is Mrs. Roosevelt's pastor. These great divines struck the key-note when they declared that education, embracing moral culture, was the true remedy for anarchy. Dr. Potter said:

"Men and brethren, in this solemn and august moment we should remember that we cannot have the freedom of Republic without the responsibilities of Republic. We must have a great system of free education, a system that will reach and enlighten the perverted minds so as to give them true comprehension of the principles underlying our Government. And we must represent in our lives an example of sincere manhood and enlightened citizenship, and refrain from sinking into lying Pharisaism which, ever ready to denounce the wrong, will not lift its smallest finger to remove it and its causes. What St. Paul wrote to his followers in the corrupt Roman Empire applies to our life to-day. What is the summing up of the whole law? Love. And when we shall have lifted our brothers from their ignorance we shall exercise that love which is the keystone to the brotherhood of man."

In the course of his remarks, Dr. Washburn uttered these noble words:

"Neither a free press nor free speech is responsible for an-

archy nor the crimes committed in its name. Anarchy does not exist because of a free press and free speech. It did not have its origin here, but it grew up in the poverty, ignorance, and lack of moral education of other countries. If it has been transferred here, neither a free press nor free speech is to blame for it. The policy which should be adopted to suppress it must be moral training for our young, which will do more to obliterate it than all the laws that may be enacted. People must be educated, so that they can reason and think. That this is essential no one will deny, yet we are told that in New York City there are 50,000 children without school accommodations."

No utterances of the hour are more worthy of the thoughtful consideration of statesmen than are the above words of Dr. Washburn.

* * *

PROBABLE RESULT OF THE STEEL STRIKE.

The result of the great steel strike cannot be regarded as other than a victory for capitalism and the most severe blow that trades-unions in the United States have received in recent years. It has shown the powerlessness of the unions of America to cope with combined capital, and this defeat will in all probability exert a demoralizing influence over trades-unions. Yet it is possible, if not highly probable, that what now appears to be a most disastrous result may eventually prove the greatest possible blessing to union labor. Certain it is that such will be the case if it forces the leaders of industry to see and understand that there is but one thing that can save trades-unions and make the workingman independent and the recipient of his own, and that is a solid ballot at the polls. This is the only way in which the toilers can secure justice and rescue the government from capitalistic domination which now threatens to subvert free institutions.

In New Zealand the workers have learned this most vital lesson. They understand that permanent success, the safety of the nation, and enduring progress all depend on the union of labor where union is most vitally important—at the ballot box. Hence to-day, in this "Newest England," industry instead of capital has the dominating voice, and man is placed above the dollar.

The reason why the trades-unions are more successful in Great Britain in their struggles than they are in this country is chiefly due to the union of their forces at the polls. In America the capitalistic combinations, who act in unison at the polls and wherever and whenever their class interests are at stake, have succeeded in dividing the forces of labor at the ballot box, until politicians, statesmen, and officials have ceased to fear the vote of industry, while too frequently they bow subserviently to the demand of interested capital. Here lies the supreme lesson for the workers—a lesson that, if the leaders of the trades-unions in America are wise, will lead to a compact organization whose first aim will be to secure the union of the voters at the ballot box. If, however, no union of this kind results in the near future, the trades-union forces will soon be hopelessly demoralized, and the toilers will be almost as completely at the mercy of the industrial barons as were the retainers under the old feudal system dependent upon their lords and masters.

* * *

INDUSTRIAL BAZAARS AS A PRACTICAL HELP FOR WILLING WORKERS.

While it is important that the friends of justice should never lose sight of the fundamental problems that confront our civilization—the overshadowing demand that the new conscience has called forth and that will be satisfied with nothing short of securing an equality of opportunity for every child of earth, and the right and opportunity of every citizen freely to obtain work at fair and remunerative wages—it will, I think, be perfectly patent to thoughtful men and women that a vast amount of educational work must be done before it will be possible to unite the workers in such a way as to secure justice without the shock of destructive revolution; and during this waiting time all possible efforts should be made to aid the less fortunate of our fellow-creatures to maintain self-respecting manhood and womanhood. A nation or a civilization has few things to fear so much as the sinking of the individual from self-respecting citizenship to the position of a suppliant, cowed and willing to accept charity. And all work wrought for the amelioration of the condition of the poor should look toward aiding others to help themselves rather than, as is too often the

case with conventional charity, making those who are suffering through enforced idleness the recipients of alms. The soup-house is no proper answer to the cry of the hungry in a land where ample food and raiment can be produced when industry has the opportunity to labor. And there are thousands, and we believe tens of thousands, of persons in easy conditions in all our great cities who would gladly lend a hand to any well-organized movement looking toward aiding those who seek to help themselves. There are many ways in which such movements might be inaugurated and pushed to a successful issue if a few earnest men and women in a community would consecrate a small portion of the time at their disposal to the work; and it is our purpose from month to month to suggest some things that might be done along these lines. At the present time I would speak of the establishment of industrial bazaars in our cities.

During the great Anti-Corn Law Agitation in England the educational propaganda work was largely carried forward by funds realized through great bazaars organized by the ladies of Manchester and other cities. Now, in every city and its environs there are thousands of persons in more or less straightened circumstances, who, however, are masters in some special line of work. Here, for example, is a widow whose preserves and jellies have elicited the highest praise from every one who has tasted them. She lives in a suburban home, with orchards and vineyards. Her income is so meager that she lives constantly in the shadow of a great fear. If she could find a market for her preserves and jellies she would be rendered comparatively comfortable. She has tried to place them on sale, but the stores are supplied with the products of the great canning houses, and at the industrial unions she has found that red tape is the least of the obstacles, unless one has "a friend at court." Her attempts have all resulted in failure, not through any lack of desire or effort on her part, nor yet from any inferiority of her products, for they would readily rank with the very best procurable.

Case two is that of a lady who is an expert in making pickles, especially sweet pickles and pickled ripe cucumbers. These delicacies have elicited the most extravagant praise from connoisseurs, yet her efforts have been no more successful than those of the widow just mentioned. Case three is a poor woman with a fine education, who was raised in affluence. In her early life she had a passion for embroidery and fancy work. Reverses, however, have overtaken her, and

she is driven to support herself by her needle. Her greatest difficulty is to dispose of her wares. Not that this would be difficult if she could bring them before the wealthy, but she lacks the opportunity to display her work. Case four is a lady who is an expert in knitting lace. Case five is an artist; but it is unnecessary to extend the list.

The above are a few persons who have come under my own observation, and they are typical of a multitude in and around every city who are highly respectable, refined, sensitive individuals. They ask no greater boon than to be able to do that which they can do well, and to have the opportunity to dispose of their work on its merit.

If in every city a few public-spirited persons would unite and raise by subscription sufficient funds for a toiler's bazaar, to be held for, say, four or six weeks in the spring and autumn, it would give to all persons an opportunity to sell their own manufactures. A small commission might be charged on goods sold if the sum subscribed for rent of building and other expenses was insufficient to meet the requirements. We are perfectly confident not only that there are enough warm-hearted and generous-minded persons in every thickly-settled community who would aid by purchase of goods, but that many persons would through such bazaars secure regular customers for their products; and it is highly probable that the success of such an experiment would lead to permanent coöperative bazaars. The expense of such an experiment could easily be met by one or two of scores of liberal persons who are constantly aiding charitable work; and in the hands of a few persons of business ability success would be quickly assured, as nothing would be easier than to work up the enthusiasm of the public, for it is a work in which the pulpit, the press, and many society leaders would heartily join. This would be a practical measure for aiding in maintaining self-respecting American citizenship, and it would be a work that we believe would be heartily sustained by the public.

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TEXTILE FABRICS FROM GRASS AND LEAVES.

Edward Bellamy, in "Equality," represents the civilization of to-morrow clothed in beautiful garments made of paper of varying textures, suitable for different uses, and so strong

yet flexible as to be admirably adapted for all the requirements of clothing. This triumph had been rendered possible by the discovery of strong-fibered material that could be used at a minimum cost. The clothing as soon as soiled was returned to the factories, where the garments were submitted to chemicals, much as are rags to-day prior to the manufacture of paper, after which the purified pulp again appeared in fabric for clothing.

Recent experiments with China grass and palm leaves, while not producing clothing from paper, have resulted in surprising and highly promising textile manufactures, which, if they do not lead to a revolution in clothing and other fabrics, will doubtless add materially to the serviceable textiles of civilized man. Herbert Hoyle, of Halifax, England, has invented a process by which he makes a fabric that resembles silk to a remarkable degree. With the enthusiasm natural to an inventor, Mr. Hoyle confidently claims that his new invention will ere long revolutionize the textile industry of the world. The new fabric is made from China grass, which grows in the greatest profusion in India and the Strait settlements. The supply is said to be practically exhaustless. In the manufacture the dried grass is used, it being treated chemically and mechanically. The cloth is said to be very beautiful and strong. Its luster remains undimmed by usage, and in addition to its beauty and durability it has the merit of cheapness. It can be made at a price but slightly more than the cost of manufacturing cotton fabrics.

By another recent inventive discovery, surprising and satisfactory results have followed the treatment of palm leaves. These are first treated by an alkali preparation, or are thoroughly boiled, after which they are left to ferment. Next the pulp and fiber are separated by machinery. The fiber is of great strength and bids fair to enter extensively into textile manufactures.

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OUR RAILWAYS: THEIR GLORY AND SHAME.

The last yearly report of the Interstate Commerce Commission touching railway statistics contains many facts that are deeply suggestive, some of which are highly gratifying while others are either disquieting or discreditable.

There are at present over one million persons employed in

the railroad system of the United States. This vast industrial army operates a railway service whose single tracks extend over 190,000 miles, while the aggregate length of all tracks is over 250,000 miles. Upward of 37,000 engines, more than 34,000 passenger cars, and freight cars exceeding 1,365,000 are required to meet the requirements of this vast business.

There has been a steady and healthful growth in the railroads of the country, both in the extent of the new lines and in the volume of business. More than 4,000 miles of new roads have been built, while the passenger fares issued reach the enormous total of 576,865,230. There were over 50,000 more fares than were called for the previous year. The freight handled amounted to 1,101,680,238 tons, an increase of more than 140,000,000 tons over the preceding year. The amount paid in salaries and wages aggregated \$577,756,580. These figures are well calculated to stagger the imagination and impress the mind with the stupendous character of the railway service of the United States. But unfortunately the whole showing is not so favorable. Thus, for instance, the amount of capital stock paying no dividend was \$3,176,609,698, or over 50 per cent. of the total amount outstanding; while the capitalization of \$61,490 per mile suggests "water" enough to satisfy the demands of the greatest monsters of the briny deep. It is probable that the enormous salaries paid to railroad presidents and other influential officials have much to do with the lack of dividends.

There is, however, a still more gloomy side to this picture, and that is where it touches the waste of human life. The fact that 7,865 persons were killed in a year, and over 50,000 were injured by the railways of this country ought to call forth an indignant and persistent protest from millions of Americans—a protest so determined and pronounced that the Government would come to the rescue of the public, and especially of the employees on the railroads, and compel the management to provide ways and means for the material diminution of this frightful slaughter. Of the number slain or injured by the railways, 750 were killed and 1,350 were injured at the deadly railway crossings. With proper legislation very few of these two thousand casualties would have occurred. How perilous are the railway tracks to pedestrians is shown by the fact that more than four thousand persons designated as trespassers were killed during the year. Of the employees of the road, 2,550 were killed and 39,643 injured.

Thus more than one out of every four hundred employees were killed, and one in every twenty-six injured. This showing is highly discreditable to the railway management of our country. There is no good reason why an army of over 42,000 should be slain or wounded during a year in the performance of their duty. No such disgraceful showing would be made if the roads were compelled to pay \$25,000 to the family of every one who met a violent death at his post of duty on the road.

And this fact suggests the most ominous feature of present-day civilization—the placing of the dollar above human life. Manhood must be exalted and money brought down to its proper place as a servant of man if humanity is to advance. In order to do this it is necessary that educators, writers, ministers, and all men and women who would further the highest interests of the race make a direct appeal to the conscience of the people. Agitation for nobler ideals, education on the moral side of life—these are the things most urgently demanded to-day; and the above illustration is but one of tens of thousands that raise a warning finger before a heedless, money-worshipping civilization.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

HISTORY OF MEDICINE: A Brief Outline of Medical History and Sects of Physicians from Earliest Historic Periods, with an Extended Account of the New Schools of the Healing Art in the Nineteenth Century. By Alexander Wilder, M.D. Cloth, 946 pp. Price, \$2.75. New Sharon, Maine: The Eclectic Publishing Company.

A Book Study.

I.

Most histories of medicine, like medical works in general, hold little attraction for readers not specially interested in the healing art, as the authors are usually physicians with a weakness for loading their work with little-understood technical terms, while their style is not infrequently labored and pedantic. Dr. Alexander Wilder is a happy exception to the rule. His notable work is not only an immensely valuable contribution to liberal medical literature, but is throughout as interesting as it is instructive. It is indeed fortunate that progressive medicine should have found a historian at once so scholarly, broad, temperate, fair, and in every way admirably qualified for the creditable execution of the great work to which this author has devoted much time during the last ten years.

The author, in addition to his medical education, is a writer and journalist of no mean reputation. His work is ever characterized by accuracy, lucidity, and an engaging style possessed by few thinkers who discuss abstract problems, scientific themes, and the prosaic facts of history.

Into this work he has brought the rigid methods of a critical scholar, and a breadth of thought, an impartiality, and a judicial temper as pleasing as they are rare in such a work. Especially is this remarkable when one remembers that the author feels very deeply on many of the subjects that he discusses. In his thoughtful and highly suggestive introduction, Dr. Wilder observes:

"A history as a record of events should be faithful, impartial, and, so far as may be, unimpassioned. There should be neither inordinate praise of individuals nor any unwarrantable degree of blame. The writer is the servant of the reader, and discharges the obligation by candid utter-

* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

ance and a tenacious adherence to actual fact. It is no person's prerogative to judge the motives of another, but the attention belongs strictly to acts and their tendencies.

"Such has been the sentiment of the compiler in preparing this work. While his convictions are positive and without disguise in relation to specific acts and measures when these were directed against personal rights and public welfare, he has been desirous even to eagerness to conform to the law of charity and to recognize whatever was worthy and laudable in individuals.

"Only great and worthy things have any permanent and absolute existence. A School of Medicine will exist as long as it really deserves to exist. In medicine as in the higher ethics he only is great who serves: the greatest among us all is the servant of all. As physicians we are not craftsmen and mechanicals following a calling for the mere pecuniary emolument, nor are we a combination of medical practitioners with personal ends to advance at the hazard of every pledge to the public and of honest principle.

"The taint of selfishness enfeebles noble exertion and dishonors every motive. It causes the individual to lag behind, whenever he aims only or chiefly to secure personal profit. Nor is it innocent to place obstructions in the way of others. Our course is obvious: to cherish an **invincible faith in the good and the true**, to seek for knowledge as the most precious of treasures, to maintain our purpose resolutely and persistently.

"In this way can be established the right to the front rank in the profession of healing, as well as to realize the highest ideal of the physician—a priest of Nature and interpreter of her holiest mysteries."

In his work the author in a marked degree conforms to the high ideal and conception of his duty as outlined above. His fearless yet broad, sweet, philosophic, and judicial spirit is beyond praise.

II.

The first part of the volume is devoted to a general survey of medicine from the earliest traditional and historic times through the eighteenth century. Here in the compass of 280 pages we have a brilliant and authoritative epitome of the healing art down to the dawn of the last century, written in easy, flowing language, and in so engaging a style as to prove deeply entertaining to the general reader. This one feature of the work should insure it a wide circulation, as here thoughtful people desiring to be well informed will find the salient facts in the long record of one great department of human activity, without being compelled to spend precious time perusing many long, tedious, and dull volumes. Moreover, this history is one with which every young man and woman in this enlightened age should be conversant.

III.

Next our author enters into an extended and rather comprehensive historical examination of the healing art in the nineteenth century. Not only does he note and describe the remarkable general progress, especially in surgery, gynecology, and obstetrics, and the more important discoveries like anesthetics which have been introduced during the last hundred years, but he gives a concise and lucid description of the many

newer systems, theories, and methods of cure, including homeopathy and its various variations and modifications, eclecticism, the chromo-thermal system, dosimetric medication, the bio-chemic system, hydrotherapeutics, the Swedish movement cure, therapeutic sarcognomy, osteopathy, and mental therapeutics. It must have required wide reading and no little patient labor to prepare the clear, succinct outline of these various theories, and certainly nowhere else in a single volume can be found so clear, fair, and intelligent a treatment of these and kindred subjects as is here given.

The method employed throughout is so eminently impartial, and so unmistakably is it the author's aim to present as clearly as possible the main facts and distinguishing peculiarities of each claimant for popular confidence, that this division of the work must meet with the hearty approval of broad-minded thinkers. The following interesting extracts from his notice of mental therapeutics will serve to acquaint the reader with Dr. Wilder's style of presenting the various new therapeutic theories:

"Leading members of the medical profession have deprecated the crudeness of the common professional knowledge, and acknowledged the weak point in their art from not understanding the influence of mental causes to induce disease and promote health. Schiller, the poet, himself declares that 'a physician whose horizon is bounded by a historic knowledge of the human machine, and who can distinguish terminologically and locally the coarser wheels of the intellectual clock-work, may be, perhaps, idolized by the mob, but he will never raise the Hippocratic art above the narrow sphere of a mere bread-earning craft.'

"Dr. Forbes Winslow, an English physician of eminence, makes the following emphatic statement:

"The physician is daily called upon in the exercise of his profession to witness the powerful effects of mental emotion upon the material fabric. He recognizes the *fact*, although he may be unable to explain the *rationale*. He perceives that mental causes induce disease, destroy life, retard recovery, and often interfere with the successful operation of the most potent remedial means exhibited for the alleviation and cure of bodily suffering. Although such influences are admitted to play an important part, either for good or for evil, I do not conceive that, as physicians, we have sufficient appreciation of their great importance.'

"With such conviction on the part of leaders, even materialistic in their notions of therapeutics, and the corresponding unrest and desire for better methods in all circles, we cannot wonder that there should be explorations into other fields, and even into regions often regarded as vague and visionary. Thus we observe a recurring to the old practise of simples and vegetable remedies, so ably set forth by Nicholas Culpeper in 1650; then mesmerism entered the arena, bringing in electricity and magnetism for auxiliaries; and Homeopathy, with the theory and procedures closely verging upon the spiritual. Religious teachers arose who professed to have the ancient apostolic gift to perform miracles. This was a function which the Roman Church has always recognized as still in exercise, but which the later Protestant bodies have generally ignored, as belonging to a dispensation long gone by. The psychologic revelations from mesmerized patients and the revival of Spiritualism in a new aspect helped to turn attention toward this neglected department.

"Accordingly there sprang up individuals here and there who professed to heal the sick without medicine, or else with remedies signified to them by occult means; some affirming that they were aided by su-

perior agencies after the ways set forth in the New Testament, and others that they operated through the faculties inherent in every person.

"About the year 1840, mesmerism or animal magnetism had begun to attract notice in America. Among those experimenting in this direction was Dr. Phineas Parkhurst Quimby, of Belfast, in the State of Maine. He was expert in producing the trance, and employed the agent in the treatment of his patients. The phenomena of clairvoyance and the revelations thus obtained led him to further researches in the department of psychology. He soon found in man, his biographer informs us, a principle or a power that was not of man himself, but was higher than man, and of which he himself could only be a medium. He also declared that he had discovered that 'disease is only an *erroneous belief*,' and upon this discovery he founded his method of cure. He accordingly gave up the practise of mesmerism, and the use of remedies however prescribed, and thenceforward adopted the new procedure. Of this success another writer says:

"'Had he lived in a remote age or country, the wonderful facts which occurred in his practise would have now been deemed either mythical or miraculous; he seemed to reproduce the wonders of the Gospel history,' etc.

"About 1863, the Rev. W. F. Evans, of Claremont, in New Hampshire, a minister of the New Jerusalem Church, became a disciple of the new doctrine and soon afterward engaged in the practise. He also published six duodecimo volumes, giving an explanation of the theory and treatment, its scientific character and harmony with the declarations of various writers of modern and ancient periods. His style is simple and attractive, and the reasoning cogent and not always easy to answer. Following the Swedenborgian rule of analogy, he declares every physiologic process a correspondence, or effect of some psychologic action; and diseases a consequent of abnormal psychic or moral conditions, which may be remedied by mental operations. Nevertheless he speaks very favorably of manipulating and mesmeric passes. 'All diseased conditions,' he remarks, 'connect us with disordered and unhappy minds in the other world. To cure disease is to "cast out devils," or to break our sympathetic consociation with undeveloped spirits.'

"Nevertheless, he does not let go of scientific knowledge. 'Whatever the physiological change which is demanded, the universal life-principle, which we call *nature*, is making an effort to effect it, and we may augment her curative endeavor by forming in our minds the idea of the change. Here knowledge is power, and refined medical science an auxiliary to the mental system of cure. And we would take occasion to remark that no *intelligent* practitioner of the mind-cure will wholly ignore medical science. Mind is the only active principle in the universe. The mind of a skilful surgeon performs marvels in saving the lives of people.'

"As has been already intimated, the practitioners of this school insist that 'metaphysical healing,' or phrenopathy, is substantially in harmony with the teachings of the philosophers, and is essentially the method inculcated and pursued by Jesus, as set forth in the New Testament.

"No claim is made by them to original conception of the idea, with regard to the theory of cure by mental influence, exerted through the imagination, or imaging faculty. The idea has existed thousands of years in the Orient. The term *metaphysical* is employed because the theory of healing thus named is based upon the laws which govern the intelligent side of human nature. It is the subjective before passing to the objective. 'To know anything purely,' says Socrates, in the *Phaedo*, 'we must behold with the soul itself.'

"Although the various schools of mental healing appear to be based upon the same principles, they differ quite widely in theories."

After naming various leaders who represent different theories under what may be broadly termed mental therapeutics, our author makes this excellent observation touching the attempt of the advocates of monopoly in medicine to secure restrictive or class legislation in their own interests:

"It is contemplated to procure legislation that will bring the various methods of 'mind-cure,' 'faith-cure,' 'prayer-cure,' etc., within the jurisdiction of the recently created medico-judicial authorities. This must naturally appear in the light of rapacity and lust of arbitrary power, without just reason. The dog that cannot eat hay is hardly a suitable judge to sit in the manger and dictate to oxen. There are many thousands who believe in the efficacy of these modes of treatment. They find such healing described and commanded in the New Testament, and with many of them the doctrines have all the sanctity of a religious faith. Such legislation will be inevitably regarded as of the nature of religious proscription, and will be included in the same category with the murderous persecutions that have made the Middle Ages infamous."

By far the largest portion of the summary of modern therapeutics is given to a history of eclecticism. This was to be expected, owing to the fact that the work was inaugurated under the auspices of the National Eclectic Medical Association of America, and also because the author has long been one of the most eminent and scholarly members of that school of practise. The pages devoted to the history of eclecticism comprise the first comprehensive and authoritative history of American eclectic practise that has appeared; and, though the somewhat extended account of the rise and struggle of eclecticism will be less attractive to many readers than some other portions of the work, it will be deeply interesting to all members of that school, and is in itself an important contribution to progressive medical literature.

IV.

Another interesting and valuable feature of the work is an extended and luminous history of the great conflict between the defenders of restrictive, class, or monopoly medical legislation and the friends of freedom. Restrictive legislation, under whatever guise it may assume, if it arises as a result of strenuous efforts from a class or section of society which through the sought-for laws will be immensely benefited pecuniarily and otherwise, instead of coming as a demand from the people, is pretty certain to be, to use the thought of Herbert Spencer in his great argument against medical restrictive legislation, nine parts self-interest gilt over with one part philanthropy; and, by abridging the right of the individual to employ whomsoever he desires in the treatment of his bodily ills, these laws lay the foundation for a possible future abridgment of the right of the individual to employ such spiritual ministrations as he believes in and desires. And this solemn fact reminds us that precisely the same arguments, recently advanced by the interested class—the medical priesthood of to-day—were urged by the religious priesthood in its attempt to uphold the greatest curse that blighted the life and stained the history of European civilization during the Christian era. The unrelenting persecution of organized churches,

denying the right of the individual to enjoy the spiritual physician of his choice, and seeking to crush freedom of thought and expression, barred the pathway of progress, chained the free-soaring spirit of science, and held the mind of man in thralldom. Wherever dogmatism and self-interest have so dominated a class, organization, or school of thought that the spirit of toleration has been discouraged and the inalienable rights of others infringed upon, the cause of human progress and happiness has received a severe check. What was true in religious Europe was also true for many long generations in political Europe. The spirit of despotism and oppression, resulting in the virtual slavery of the many to the few, rested like a crushing weight on civilization until the great revolutionary era inaugurated during the closing quarter of the eighteenth century. The reaction following the general uprising, however, prevented the full-orbed freedom that is essential to true and enduring progress, and in many lands, even where the loudest claims are made for freedom, the spirit of despotism is again moving forward with the arrogance that marked ancient oppression.

In the war waged by medical class interests, clamoring for protection and special privileges, and seeking under cloak of law to crush an opposition whose success has appealed to the enlightenment of the people, we find the same age-long struggle of egoism or selfishness against altruism and that wholesome freedom which is the handmaid of science and the strong arm of progress. In medicine, as in religion, science, and government, progress has best flourished where freedom has most abounded; and Dr. Wilder believes that the cause of true science, as well as the safety and happiness of the people, is best conserved by freedom, or the absence of laws that favor monopoly and class interests. In this respect he occupies a position identical with that taken by the late Professor Thomas Huxley, Professor Youmans, Professor Joseph Rodes Buchanan, and the Honorable William E. Gladstone, and which is also strongly maintained by many of the master brains and true leaders among the representative scholars of the world, including Herbert Spencer, Rev. Minot J. Savage, D.D., and Professor William James of Harvard University, all of whom have boldly assailed the position taken by the advocates of restrictive medical legislation. In opening his admirable story of the conflict for medical freedom, our author observes:

"It often seems necessary for us to learn old lessons anew, or at least that we did not learn them properly. We do not always profit by the experience of those who have preceded us. In the history of our country we are told that the early colonists of the English-speaking States came to this continent in order to enjoy liberty of conscience and religious worship. Yet it was very generally liberty only for those who believed the same doctrine and had similar views of life. Even the American Revolution did not immediately emancipate slaves or deliver from the thralldom of an Established Church. Though the Federal Constitution with its Virginian amendments assured equal rights to citizens and prohibited a national establishment of religion, its framers forgot other professions, and States kept up their old ways. An ascendancy was established in the medical profession as arbitrary, as pretentious,

and as imperious as ever in any country was that of the Church. Even before the Revolution, the General Court of Massachusetts, for example, not only prescribed the kind of dress and modes of entertainment, but required State attendance on religious worship, and forbade any one to administer a medicine which was not approved by the standard medical authorities. New Jersey did something similar. The history of the nineteenth century in the United States was introduced by a narrative of usurpation and persecution, authorized by statute and enforced by the various appliances of law as merciless and vindictive as the prosecutions of witches and dissenters from the established religion, till we might well doubt whether this was actually a free country or had a constitutional government. After this followed a period of successful resistance, and a swinging round the circle of legislation, which those who are curious and inquisitive in such matters will contemplate with surprise."

With these words the reader is introduced into a historical review of medical class legislation that is characteristically fair and judicial in treatment throughout, though of course the author does not disguise the fact that he believes the best interests of society and of the healing art will be conserved by the abolition of the laws conferring special privileges or guaranteeing virtual monopoly to certain schools of medicine. This historical review is I think the ablest as it is also the most extended account of a Titanic struggle that has been published. The success of the interested classes has in the past been temporary rather than permanent, and, though at the present time the political drift is favorable to trusts and monopolies, signs are not wanting of a reaction that will I believe be positive and far-reaching in character—at least in respect to medical science and religious freedom. No friend of the theory that a man should be free to select whomsoever he has confidence in to minister to him in the hour of sickness can afford to overlook this comprehensive historical epitome of one of the most notable conflicts of the present age.

V.

A very interesting feature of the book, and one that cannot fail to charm the reader, is found in brief but graphic pen pictures of men who at one time or another created much stir in medical circles. Of course, the majority of our author's subjects were eminent scholars and men of wide learning, but he is no less happy in paying tribute to the world's benefactors whose lack of early advantages prevented them from receiving a scholastic education. In the following outline of the early life of Samuel Thomson, and in the philosophic observations preceding it, we have a fine illustration of this interesting feature of Dr. Wilder's writing:

"Of Samuel Thomson we would speak in terms of respect and commendation. The friends of medical freedom and medical reform owe him a debt of honor and gratitude as a public benefactor. Great occasions are met by individuals who seem almost to have come into existence for the purpose. Such persons are often set down as of inferior mold, or are overlooked altogether by those more favored by wealth and social condition, till the exigency calls them forth and obliges them to take the responsible position. We find then that their humbleness of origin, their peculiarities of character which many are eager to point

out and blame, the trials which they have undergone, were so many preliminary conditions to prepare them for their work.

"Indeed, it is a very general fact that the persons who save us in the hour of mortal peril are seldom of our own selecting. Not many who are regarded as scholarly, able, or of superior social rank are at hand for such occasions, but chiefly individuals of another class. The records of the past abound with examples. Mirkhond, the historian of ancient Persia, tells us of the blacksmith who upreared the standard of revolt and expelled the murderous Zahak from the throne, and that his leather apron became the banner of the liberated nation. Another record, somewhat more familiar to us, treats of a youth of ignoble origin, whom his family hesitated to acknowledge, but who came from the tending of sheep to deliver his countrymen from their oppressors. In the last century a favorite play in the theaters of London burlesqued as tailors and mechanics the commanders who had, both in council and in the field, achieved American independence. In the later days of the Republic it was Lincoln from the prairie, untrained in statecraft and diplomacy, who guided the ship of State through its most critical period.

"Samuel Thomson was one of this little number of exceptional men. He possessed the qualities which characterize the leader and reformer: deep conviction and unflinching tenacity of purpose. His early discipline and experience brought these qualities into action. He was born at Alstead, then a frontier settlement in the colony of New Hampshire, and passed his youth in hardship and privation. The region had hardly been reclaimed from the wilderness, and every one's efforts were required to gain a simple livelihood. Thomson early displayed a passion for learning the names and medicinal virtues of plants, but his opportunities for even simple elementary instruction were limited. When it was proposed to let him become a student of Dr. Fuller, a botanic physician in the neighboring town of Westmoreland, he was rejected because of his defective education. He was considered as fit only to work on the land. He was in a far worse case than Grant and Jules Faure, the tanners, or Roger Sherman and Henry Wilson, the shoemakers, and Franklin, the chandler's son.

"Nevertheless, it was not permitted that Samuel Thomson should bury himself in obscurity. He married and became the father of a family. The frequent occurring of sickness with his wife and children occasioned the employing of physicians, and he soon began to observe that with the medical treatment the sufferings of the patients were aggravated. Presently, in sheer desperation, he ventured to undertake their care himself, meanwhile paying the physicians for their professional visits. His efforts were rewarded by their speedy recovery. He had already acquired much information in regard to the use of simples and in nursing from an elderly woman, who was a Florence Nightingale in the neighborhood. The fact now impressed him forcibly that under the medical treatment in vogue the term of sickness was unnecessarily prolonged, and that it was very often followed by a permanent condition of ill-health. 'I had found from experience,' he declared in his *Narrative*, 'that doctors made more diseases than they cured.' He thus inadvertently reiterated the assertion of Dr. Rush, frankly uttered about the same time. Thenceforward he dispensed with the services of physicians, and took charge of his family through a formidable array of maladies, among which were measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, and small-pox. In the last of these he was his own patient; and under his care they all recovered.

"His neighbors soon observed his aptitude in treating sickness, and did not hesitate to avail themselves of his services. As, however, he was regarded only as a farmer like themselves, they did not consider that, though they employed him, he was entitled to fee or remuneration like a professional man. The demands upon his time and efforts prevented

him from working steadily upon his farm, and threatened to keep him from providing for his family. He finally resolved to change his employment.

"This was in the year 1805. He traveled about for several years, afterward making his home at Beverly, in Massachusetts, and later he opened his office and establishment in Salem Street, in the city of Boston.

"Thomson did not adopt the methods employed by the botanic physicians and herbalists of the time, but some of them were current with the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. He propounded a theory and adopted the procedures which were distinctively known by his name, and discarded utterly the methods in common use—the lancet, leech, cupping-glass, and Spanish fly, together with the various mineral drugs and poisonous vegetable productions which constituted the fashionable physician's armament. The results were generally and often singularly beneficial.

"To think is to theorize—whether it be the speculation of the philosopher, the deduction of the scientist, or the conjecture of the private individual. Thomson's theories were very simple. He adopted the dogma of the Ionian and Grecian sages—that heat, the calorific force or excitative energy, is the substance of life; and, following it to its logical conclusion, he entertained as truth the sentiment propounded by Lord Bulwer-Lytton, in his favorite work, that this primordial principle of life may also be its renovator and the restorer of health. He expressed this sentiment, however, in quaint terms: 'That all diseases are the effect of one general cause, and can be removed by one general remedy.' This he affirmed to be the foundation upon which he had erected his fabric."

The work as a whole is a volume of great value to all thoughtful persons. Especially should it be read by young men and women. It should also find its way into the homes of those who believe in freedom in medicine, and whose experience has shown that vast numbers of precious lives, which the members of an empirical profession have failed to restore and in many instances have abandoned to the grave, are being yearly saved by "irregular" methods of cure.

AN AFFAIR IN THE SOUTH SEAS. By Leigh H. Irvine. Cloth, 278 pp. Price, \$1.50. London: T. Fisher Unwin. San Francisco, Calif.: Payot, Upham & Co.

The name of Leigh H. Irvine is familiar to the readers of *THE ARENA* and other leading progressive publications, but they will hardly be prepared to find the serious and earnest student of social and economic questions appearing as the author of a bright but purposeless novel—or rather a novel with no distinctly ethical aim. We confess that in an age like ours, when civilization is halting as it were at the parting of the ways between liberalism, social and economic emancipation, and the happiness of the masses on the one hand, and a strong reactionary movement on the other, we could wish that all thinkers so admirably equipped as is Mr. Irvine would dedicate their best thought and work to the cause of justice and human progress. It is a disappointment that one so clear-seeing and able should fail to carry into his romance something of that holy passion for justice that has made "Les

Miserables" one of the most powerful sermons ever preached and a story of such profound human interest that its immortality is assured.

There is, however, at the present time a belief that if a novel is to be popular it must not be made the vehicle of a vital truth. "Art for art's sake" is the cry of the dilettante and conservative to-day as it was when Victor Hugo fought his splendid battle under the slogan of "Art for progress,—the beautiful useful." And Mr. Irvine, wishing to write a story that would sell, has striven to avoid anything that would make his romance a "purpose novel." He does not seem to have wholly succeeded, as several reviewers insist on treating it as a problem romance—a mistake doubtless due to the fact that the reviewer has not perused the book beyond the description of the founding of the ideal commonwealth and the election of the venerable sea-captain as president.

The story is written in a bright, easy style, the reader being led from page to page with a lively and growing interest to the climax. Like some of Robert Louis Stevenson's best work and the romances of Henry Melville, it deals with adventures in foreign parts. The story is related by a young San Francisco lawyer, who accepts the invitation of a wealthy sea-captain to become one of a colony he is arranging to settle on a luxuriant island in the South Seas. The colonists desire to flee from the crushing greed and brutal commercialism of the present age and to live a simple life "near to Nature's heart." On arriving at their destination their peace is made with the natives, and for a time all goes well; but at length a serpent enters the new Eden in the form of a cunning and resolute white desperado, who quickly gains a wonderful ascendancy over the natives by exciting their superstitious fears and by direful threats. The dreamers awaken to find themselves confronted by a deadly peril, and the conflict that ensues, together with the rather weird and unique denouement, forms some highly exciting chapters of a book that is not wanting in poetic thought and expression.

"An Affair In the South Seas" is quite out of the line of the ordinary conventional novel, and its light, breezy, and unconventional character will please readers who are satiated with immature historical romances that at best are but imitations of imitations of the elder Dumas' novels.

CHARACTER-BUILDING THOUGHT POWER. By Ralph Waldo Trine. Cloth, 51 pp. Price, 35 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co.

EVERY LIVING CREATURE. By Ralph Waldo Trine. Cloth, 85 pp. Price, 35 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co.

THE GREATEST THING EVER KNOWN. By Ralph Waldo Trine. Cloth, 82 pp. Price, 35 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co.

I.

"Character-Building Thought Power" is a volume that should be placed in the hands of every boy and girl in our land. The power and

influence of thought in molding our acts, and through our acts our characters, are dwelt upon in such a way as to make a profound impression upon the sensitive brain of youth; and the author goes on to show how we may so train our minds that pure, helpful, kind, and elevating thoughts will dwell constantly with us, inspiring and guiding our daily lives.

II.

"Every Living Creature" is another volume that all parents should read aloud to their children. It is instinct with that tender and humane spirit which goes out in love to all dumb creatures, but which is too often absent in the home training of our boys and girls. Hunting, vivisection, the wearing of birds by women who think that by so doing they make themselves more attractive, flesh-eating, and the relation of so-called "sport" to war and crime, are all ably discussed. Mr. Trine believes in *justice* for our dumb fellow-creatures; but above and beyond all he emphasizes the fact that, if children were early taught to treat all animals with kindness and consideration, there would be far less crime and brutality in the world than exist to-day.

III.

"The Greatest Thing Ever Known" is a luminous unfoldment of the source of our true inner strength, which is found, our author maintains, in a conscious realization of the essential oneness of all life. As we come day by day into a more intimate and personal knowledge of this great truth—the oneness of our lives with the life of the Father—so shall we gain strength, peace, health, and all things needful; for the attributes of Deity will be more and more made manifest in us, and then, and then only, shall we be in a position to attract to ourselves those things which are really worth having.

Our author goes on to show that this realization of the oneness of His life with that of the Father was the secret of Jesus' wonderful spiritual insight and power; and His mission was to teach that all men can and ultimately will enter into this divine consciousness.

Mr. Trine fortifies his arguments with some brief and well-chosen quotations from the philosopher Fichte. The book is one that cannot fail to be helpful and inspiring to all who read it, and is written in that simple and pleasing style which has helped to make Mr. Trine's work so justly popular with the great mass of the people.

A B C OF THE TELEPHONE. By J. E. Homans, A.M. Cloth, 332 pp. New York: Theo. Audel & Co.

This is a thoroughly practical work. The author has endeavored to make the subject at once clear and sufficiently comprehensive to afford a good foundation for the student who desires to master telephony and make it a life study, while at the same time he avoids an undue use of

technical terms. The subject is handled in such a manner as to make it highly interesting and instructive for non-professional readers. The chapter dealing with the Theory of Sound and the one on the Principles of Electricity are handled in a highly entertaining and lucid manner, and are, as the author observes, "necessary to a proper understanding of the telephone."

In perusing these pages one cannot help thinking how the knowledge of man has broadened in certain directions during the last quarter of a century. If, fifty years ago, a seer had described an invention similar to the wonderful instruments which Mr. Homans describes so perfectly, or had he advanced theories in regard to light, sound, and color which all intelligent people of our time are more or less conversant with, he would have been speaking in an unknown tongue to the men of his age, and his descriptions would have been set down as possibly possessing an interest similar to that of the Arabian Nights wonder-stories or Gulliver's tales, but as wholly impossible of realization. I well remember hearing the principal of the high school in an Illinois town give a description of the telephone before a literary society at the time when the first successful experiments were being made in the East with the Bell telephone. His audience was clearly so incredulous that it was difficult for many to be decorous; yet to-day how little do we think of the wonder of this instrument which transmits the sound of a loved one's voice for hundreds of miles, and even if we are still impressed with the marvelous triumph of scientific inventive genius shadowed forth in the telephone, how few understand the why and wherefore sufficiently clearly to be able lucidly to explain it! Mr. Homans in his work has made everything relating to the telephone so clear that those who read this book will be in possession of facts that will add in a real way to their general culture.

THE REFORMERS' YEAR-BOOK OR LABOR ANNUAL FOR 1901. Edited by Joseph Edwards. Paper, 176 pp. Price, 1 shilling net. Joseph Edwards, Wallasey, Cheshire, and Leonard D. Abbott, 336 West 71st St., New York.

This little work is of great value to students of social reform and economic progress, containing as it does a vast amount of important information concerning the reform forces, especially in Great Britain. Among the leading topics treated are Reports of Socialist Organizations, Reports of Miscellaneous Reform Societies, Coöperation, Trades Unions, Municipal Questions, Legislative and Parliamentary, Reform Movements Abroad, and International Congresses.

One has only to peruse the work to be impressed with the immense amount of earnest, radical, and progressive work that is being pushed forward by various reform bodies. It is unfortunate; however, that the Progressives should be divided into so many camps, and still more deplorable that frequently much of their energy is directed against other

reformers who do not see the truth through their spectacles. It may be that the reform forces of the Anglo-Saxon world will have to pass through the fire of great affliction or persecution before they will sink differences and move together in one compact and invincible body. At the beginning of the American Revolution petty jealousies and sectional animosities held the colonies apart and tended to paralyze the efficient work of many leaders; and it was not until the colonies came to realize that unless they hung together they might soon expect all to hang separately that victory was possible. And it may be, and indeed we think it is highly probable, that the social reform forces will have to face similar perils before they will be willing to sink all thought of self and allow pet theories and panaceas to be subordinated before the central issue. When such union is effected, however, the cause of social democracy will be absolutely invincible.

THE TRUTH ABOUT ALASKA AND THE GOLDEN LAND OF THE MIDNIGHT SUN. By Eugene McElwaine. Cloth, profusely illustrated, 445 pp. Published by the author.

This is an extremely interesting and valuable book, dealing with a subject about which the majority of people have little trustworthy information. It gives an entertaining and exhaustive account of Alaska—its gold mines and other natural resources, its people, its possibilities, and its needs. The account is based on the writer's personal experience, extending over a period of three years, during which time he traveled extensively in various parts of the Territory. Unlike most volumes published by the author, this book will be of value to the general reader as well as to those especially interested in this golden land of the Northwest. The book is attractively gotten up and its value is enhanced by numerous fine photographs of Alaskan scenes and people.



BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Restricted Industry; Its Effect, Its Cause, the Remedy." By Wm. H. Berry. Paper, 136 pp. Price, 25 cents. Chicago: The Schulte Pub. Co.

"In the Shadow and Other Poems." By Herbert B. Robinson. Paper, 48 pp. Chicago: The Argus Press.

"Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor." In two volumes. Cloth, 1,642 pp. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.

"Unseen Faces Photographed: Report of Dr. A. H. Reid." Illustrated. Paper, 54 pp. Price, 50 cents. Los Angeles, Cal.: B. R. Baumgardt & Co.

"Prospectus of the Boston College of Practical Psychology for 1901." Paper, illustrated, 79 pp.

"The Origin of the Book of Mormon, Reëxamined in Its Relation to Spalding's 'MS. Found.'" By A. L. Schroeder. Paper, 56 pp. Published by the author.

"Some Facts Concerning Polygamy." By A. L. Schroeder. Paper, 24 pp. Published by the author.

"Our Baby's Journal. No. 1. Hope." By M. R. and F. M. Kerr. Cloth, 175 pp. Price, \$1. Edgewood Press: New Haven, Ct.

"Tolstoy and His Problems." By Aylmer Maude. Cloth, 332 pp. Price, \$2. London: Grant Richards. New York: A. Wessels Co.

"A Bibliographical Contribution to the Study of John Ruskin." Compiled by M. Ethel Jameson. Cloth, 154 pp. Price, \$1.50. Cambridge: The Riverside Press.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE tragedy at Buffalo, by which the whole civilized world was shocked to its foundations, has dominated the periodical literature of the United States and elsewhere during the last two months. There is seemingly very little agreement, however, as to the cause and significance of anarchy, while suggestions concerning its eradication, though abundant, have been futile and irrational when not positively worse than the malady itself. It is with great satisfaction, therefore, that we present in this issue of THE ARENA two papers that throw some really helpful light on the world problem. Dr. Felix L. Oswald, A.M., the distinguished essayist and author of "Physical Education, or the Health Laws of Nature," and many other standard works, traces the evolution of the anarchic spirit and shows that it is a *symptom* of our abnormal racial growth rather than a *disease* of the social body. As such it should be treated; and the true method of procedure is clearly pointed out by our other contributor, Mrs. Evelyn Harvey Roberts, the wife of a Congregational clergyman, whose analysis suggests the fundamental defect in conventional economic teachings, by which ignorance and avarice are fostered, and explains why the prayers of a whole nation were powerless to avert a fatal consummation of the Buffalo assassin's deed.

The Rev. James Hoffman Batten's article on "The Failure of Freedom" is not without significance in the present crisis. It sets forth the appalling results that may be apprehended from the cultivation of selfishness in the higher walks of life—among those who exercise power and authority over the masses of men—and makes an eloquent appeal for simple economic justice and political honesty that is reassuring in a minister of the gospel.

In this season of municipal elections, Mr. Joseph Dana Miller's paper on "The Futilities of Reformers" reveals some of the most potent obstacles to true progress and analyzes the causes of the frequent failures among reform movements. Mr. Miller knows whereof he speaks, as he has been prominently identified with the Single Tax propaganda and many of the attempts to "purify" our city government in recent years.

The system of taxation promulgated by the late Henry George and his numerous followers has doubtless never had a more convincing argument in its favor, presented in so few pages, than the essay in this month's ARENA on "The Ethics of the Land Question." The writer is a New England scholar and thinker, at present engaged in other lines of advanced thought, whose profound study of social economics has led him to conclusions that should enlist the attention of every legislator

as well as of all minds devoted to the amelioration of life's conditions for the majority of men. The devotees of the Single Tax could scarcely possess a more effective campaign document than this essay, for it presents a side of the question too often ignored—its ethical basis.

The current contribution to our series of papers on advanced religious topics is from the able pen of the author of "Where Dwells the Soul Serene." In "The Office of the Preacher," Mr. Davis makes many excellent suggestions concerning the lines of thought and study best calculated to advance the spiritual interests of the race, and incidentally to promote the progress of the Church as an educational and reformatory institution. It were well if every clergyman in the land, regardless of creed, would read and heed his words. The next article in this series, to appear in December, will be a discussion of "Evolution and Theology," by Walter Spence.

Justice Clark's brief remarks concerning the utility of a governmental telegraph and telephone system, in this issue, will be followed in January by an extended "Conversation" with Prof. Frank Parsons on the same subject. This author's contribution to the present number completes his superb series on "Great Movements of the Nineteenth Century."

Frances A. Kellor concludes her study of "The Criminal Negro" also in the current ARENA. The investigation of Southern conditions pertaining to the black race on which these eight articles have been based was most thorough and comprehensive. The author with an assistant visited eight States and thirty-eight penal institutions; also schools and colleges and the slum sections of cities. Every facility was placed at their disposal by Governors and other State officials as well as by the superintendents of convict farms, prisons, jails, work-houses, reformatories, mines, and camps. Miss Kellor's articles, therefore, may be regarded as accurate and authentic.

Will Allen Dromgoole's introduction of our new Fiction feature is so charmingly pathetic that its brevity is to be regretted; yet it is an admirable character sketch of the antebellum negro—a type that is fast disappearing from the scenes in which he has played so tragic a part. Anna Vernon Dorsey, of Washington, D. C., will contribute a delightful Christmas story to our December issue.

We are pleased to announce that the opening article of our next number will be from the pen of the Hon. W. A. Northcott, Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois—an elaboration of his Labor Day address at Springfield on "The Rights of Men." Among other contributions of timely interest and reformatory import, we shall publish in December a valuable paper on a recent bureaucratic oppression on the part of the postal authorities. The writer is Gen. C. H. Howard, president of the National Publishers' Bureau, of Chicago.

J. E. M.